

# Accords Faulty

The Geneva Pact of April the 15th (signed between Pakistan and the Soviet-created Kabul Regime) is a deliberate violation of international laws.

The Afghan nation, which has been brutalized by the Soviets, was not even included in the discussions about its future and independence. Through this notorious Pact, the Kremlin washes its hands of all the atrocities committed by the Red Army against the Afghans.

We wish to condemn this Pact in the strongest possible terms. Here are just a few examples of the many faults in the Accords.

1. The Accords contradict the nine UN General Assembly Resolutions which ask for the pull-out of all Soviet troops from Afghanistan to be immediate and unconditional.  
Contrary to that, the Geneva Pact allows the Kremlin to extend its occupation by at least ten more months, which means more bloodshed, destruction and human losses for the Afghans who are defending their country.  
Through the agreement the Soviet Union is conditioning its pullout on the structure of Afghanistan's future political system being in favour of the Soviet government.
2. There was no representative from the Mujahideen representing the people of Afghanistan in the entire process of the Accord.  
This disregards the Right of Nations to Self-determination, which is incorporated in the UN Charter of Rights. Any decision on the present and future of Afghanistan in the absence of the true representatives of the people of Afghanistan will not be acceptable.
3. No guarantee is given in the accord that the Soviet Union will not invade Afghanistan in the future.
4. The presence of an estimated 12-20 thousand KGB agents in Afghanistan disguised as civil and military advisors has not been touched upon in the accord. Their presence and involvement in the internal affairs of Afghanistan will leave this country vulnerable to future Soviet interventions and expansionism.
5. Moscow has signed over 300 protocols and contracts with its installed government in Kabul in the past 11 years. These protocols give the Soviet Union full rights and privileges similar to the capitulation of rights of occupied countries in the 18th and 19th centuries to other colonialist states. Through these contracts the Soviet Union exploits our natural resources. For example, they pay one quarter of the international market price for our natural gas. Most important of all under one of the contracts, the Soviet Union can invade Afghanistan any time under the pretence of its southern borders being insecure.  
None of the protocols has been either approved by an elected parliament of Afghanistan or received any kind of approval from Afghans outside the circle of the ruling Communist Party.
6. The Geneva Accords do not touch upon the vital issue of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan.  
The Wakhan Corridor on Afghanistan's borders with China and India has long been a Soviet target. Because of its height, the Corridor is called "the Roof of the World". According to widespread speculations in the early years of the invasion, the Soviets have forced the Kabul government which they installed to give this strategic piece of land to Mother Russia.

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Notes used by Under-Secretary-General Diego Cordovez  
Representative of the Secretary-General  
on the Settlement of the Situation Relating to Afghanistan  
during a Press Conference held in Islamabad  
on Saturday 9 July 1988

1. The purpose of my trip to the area was to review the implementation of the Geneva Accords. I feel that this review has been carried out in a very satisfactory manner with the co-operation of all the Governments concerned including, of course, the guarantor Governments.
2. It has been agreed with the Parties, in connection with the allegations of violations lodged by the two sides thus far, that these took place during what we have agreed to describe as the "initial period" in the implementation of any international agreement. We have therefore agreed to "turn the page" and to start afresh. I have received from the Governments of Pakistan and Afghanistan very categorical and unmistakable assurances of their determination to carry out fully and in good faith the obligations set out in the Geneva Accords.
3. We are also introducing a number of changes in the procedures and *modus operandi* of the United Nations Good Offices Mission (UNGOMAP). These changes will be carried out with the co-operation of the two sides. For instance, we will establish two outposts of military staff at the border and we will have full access to airports to monitor the withdrawal of foreign troops.
4. I therefore feel that in every respect we have overcome the serious difficulties that we have encountered. What is important is that the Agreements are being implemented and that the Governments have reiterated to me their determination to comply fully with the obligations set out in the Geneva Accords.

## Withdrawal of troops

5. I met in Kabul with General of the Army Valentin Varennikov, who has overall responsibility for the planning and execution of all withdrawal operations. He informed me that 32,000 Soviet military personnel have already left Afghanistan. This is the total number. If there have been some apparent discrepancies in statements made by Soviet authorities it is because of differences in terminology and translation. General Varennikov said that the Soviet Union has not slowed down or suspended the withdrawal process at any time and that they expect to meet the target established in the Geneva Accords - that is that 50 per cent of the troops will leave by 15 August.

## Mines

6. I have the impression that there is a real psychological warfare in this respect and this creates difficulties for the return of the refugees.
7. General Varennikov told me that, of 2,131 minefields that had been laid by the Soviet contingent, some 1,500 had already been removed as of 6 July. Out of 611 remaining minefields 200 had been turned over with maps to the Afghan Government army and the other 400 would be turned over as the withdrawal proceeds.
8. I was informed that all the minefields which still remain are those that are intended to protect essential services such as power plants, airports and military outposts. They had not been placed in cities, towns or fields; roads and paths which were expected to be used by the refugees have been cleared of mines. (General Varennikov said that opposition forces have been placing mines without any detailed records. The Soviet army had cleared some 240,000 mines and explosive devices laid by the opposition groups.)

## Prisoners of war

9. I also raised with all concerned the question of Soviet prisoners of war. All expressed the readiness to help resolve this matter as a humanitarian question and it was agreed that the International Committee of the Red Cross, which has dealt with this matter in the past and has the expertise, would be entrusted with it.

## A peaceful path towards a legitimate broad-based government in Afghanistan

10. As you know I received from the Governments that participated at the last round of Geneva talks a mandate to promote the formation of a broad-based Government. I was not appointed as mediator - we all agreed to promote the setting in motion by the Afghans of a process which would allow them to exercise their right of self-determination.

11. What all Afghans yearn for after so many years of war and suffering is a peaceful and stable Afghanistan, in which all segments of the Afghan nation can come together to heal the wounds of a tragic conflict and to rebuild their homeland. The full and faithful implementation of the Geneva Accords will provide the necessary external conditions that would enable the Afghans to pursue such a goal. What is urgently needed at this crucial time in Afghan history is a government founded on the broadest possible support of the Afghan people.

12. In the absence of such a government existing political forces are seeking to assert their strength by engaging in further military confrontations. The Afghan population is tired of the war and the suffering and will increasingly reject such a course and those who advocate it. There will be more political confusion, uncertainty and turmoil.

13. Different approaches to building a broad-based government have already been tried without success: the policy of national reconciliation instituted by the Government in Kabul has failed to produce the coalition government that it envisaged and the political forces outside the country have failed to gather the support which they expected in order to set up a Government acceptable to the majority of the Afghan people.

14. In the present circumstances normal political processes are, of course, extremely difficult - if not impossible. Therefore, it is suggested that the best way to facilitate the early establishment of a broad-based government would be for all segments of the Afghan nation to accept a "cooling off" period, during which leaders of all existing political parties would agree to postpone their active struggle as a patriotic sacrifice which the nation as a whole would undoubtedly acknowledge. Nobody would be requested to give up legitimate aspirations; what all Afghan political forces would be asked is to accept a more peaceful path which would have the effect of enhancing the legitimacy of all the steps that may be subsequently taken towards a broad-based government.

15. A "cooling-off" period would allow the Afghans to be reunited in their homeland and enable the international community to lend urgently-needed humanitarian assistance. The healing process would begin and it would then be possible to adopt the necessary measures to achieve peace - in strict conformity with Afghan traditions.

16. One possible course of action would be for a National Government for Peace and Reconstruction, consisting of Afghans of recognized independence and impartiality, to take office in Kabul on 1 September 1988 and for a de facto cease-fire in place between contending Afghans to become effective on that same date.

17. A list of the personalities which would comprise the National Government for Peace and Reconstruction would be formulated on the basis of broad consultations with all groups of Afghans. The principal objective of the National Government for Peace and Reconstruction would be to prepare the convening of a Loya Jirga - to be held not later than 1 March 1989. The members of the National Government for Peace and Reconstruction would undertake at the time of taking their oath of office not to accept any position in the government which would emerge from the Loya Jirga and which would be constituted not later than 15 March 1989.

18. The National Government for Peace and Reconstruction, upon taking office, would be responsible for conducting the affairs of the State, and would work out arrangements for both the acceleration of the return of all refugees and the setting in motion of an effective programme of resettlement and reconstruction. It would give particular attention to the adoption of measures designed gradually to create peaceful conditions in the whole country as a means of ensuring the successful holding of the Loya Jirga. To that end it would seek from its inception to exercise effective control over the armed forces, and over all the police and security forces.

19. The National Government for Peace and Reconstruction would ensure that, during the period preceding the convening of the Loya Jirga, all political parties should be able to function in such a way that neither the legitimacy of the Loya Jirga nor the independence of the government that emerges can be challenged.

20. I have never doubted that the Afghan people would rise to the challenge that this conflict has placed before them. These are but few considerations that they might wish to bear in mind at a time when they are to take decisions - which they alone can take - to chart their destiny.

(United Nations source, no date.)

Both the Kremlin and Kabul are silent about this notorious agreement. The Geneva Accords do not mention this very important issue and give no guarantee that the Afghan territory will remain unchanged from the way it was before the invasion.

7. Through the accords the Soviet Union is completely washing its hands of its brutal war against a free nation. There is no mention of compensation for damages it has inflicted in the war.
8. The Accords give a de facto recognition to the Kabul regime - a regime denounced by the overwhelming majority of Afghans, put in place and kept in power by the Soviet Union.

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## AFGHAN PULLOUT MUST BE UNCONDITIONAL

By Mohammad Hasan Kakar

**Peshawar, Pakistan** — The problem of how to end the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan has assumed a new urgency since December's summit meeting in Washington. General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, other Soviet spokesmen, as well as the United Nations' mediator, Diego Cordovez, say the round of talks that begin Wednesday in Geneva will be the last and perhaps the decisive one.

The Soviets claim to have made many concessions. Mr. Gorbachev has stated that the Soviet Union will pull its troops out of Afghanistan in 10 months, starting

May 15, if an agreement is signed by mid-March. According to Soviet and U.N. spokesmen, everything hinges on whether the U.S. and other resistance supporters agree to stop all aid to the Mujahideen from the moment the Soviet Union starts recalling its troops.

Let us suppose the U.S. government agrees, what will happen then? At the very least, the Soviets probably will leave behind the vast quantities of weapons they have stored in Afghanistan ever since their invasion. It is also likely that before they leave, the Soviet forces will launch a major offensive to exhaust the weapons supplies of the Mujahideen.

We Afghans have become sufficiently realistic—or sufficiently wise—to be extremely cautious when dealing with the Soviets. By their own deeds, especially after

their invasion of our land, they themselves have taught us to mistrust them. We have come to know two kinds of Soviet rulers, the pre-invasion ones and the post-invasion ones. The first showed themselves as considerate, sympathetic, helping and trustworthy, while the second proved to just the opposite and more Prof. Anwar Khan summarized what we have learned about them: "The Russians are ruthless rulers," he writes. "They are oppressive in the primitive sense. They go for owning everything, from land to the individual and his conscience."

Now there is a good opportunity for Soviet leaders to prove their sincerity by allaying the mistrust they themselves have created by pulling their troops out unconditionally, instead of demanding that U.S. and other military aid to the Mujahideen first be stopped.

This may sound impractical to those who argue that the Russians simply cannot pack up the way the Americans did in Vietnam. I see no reason why they can't if, as they contend, they are confident about the correctness of their position. They would win the admiration of the world for what would be viewed as a magnanimous action. An atmosphere of greater trust in international relations would be created and pave the way for other major advances. More to the point.

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an unconditional pullout would compensate for the lack of representation of the Afghan people in the Geneva talks.

For the smooth and full implementation of any negotiated solution, it is imperative that all Afghan participants in domestic politics abide by it. This would be the case if their views about the future of their country are taken into account. The resistance rightly questions why after all the suffering Afghans have experienced, they should settle for less than the unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from their soil and full independence for their country. Mr. Gorbachev claims to be dropping the demand for a "non-aligned and neutral Afghanistan" but he continues to talk of a coalition "government of reconciliation" based on the Afghan Communist party.

The Resistance regards both as limitations on the sovereignty of Afghanistan. It is true that before the Russian invasion, we were "non-aligned and neutral" in our foreign policy, but this was our own choice, not imposed on us. The inclusion of any such requirements would limit the sovereignty of our people and would make it impossible for a future government to become a member of, say, a regional grouping if it came into existence and furthered our interest. At any rate, it is for the Afghans to decide, not for others to decide.

The Resistance movement is based upon one essential point: full independence. What will happen if the Geneva accords—if agreed upon—are not accepted by Resistance leaders, who, after all, control 80% of Afghanistan? In that case there will certainly be chaos of a different kind. If all parties seeking peace in Afghanistan really believe the principle of self-determination to be the cornerstone of a nation's life, then they should leave the Afghans free to decide their own affairs.

Setting up a joint government is, of course, the most difficult problem. Many groups inside Afghanistan are armed to the teeth, and the custom of revenge is still a dominant feature of our national life. The animosity between Communist Party members and other Afghans is beyond the imagination of outsiders. Communist regi-

mes in Kabul, encouraged by the mighty power of the Soviet Union, have over the past 10 years committed such atrocities that they have rendered quite ineffective the healing potential of the relatively milder policy of "national reconciliation".

It is therefore out of the question for any member of the seven-party alliance or other significant Resistance leaders to form a coalition government with the Kabul regime. Those trying to bring about such a coalition are simply wasting their time and may in fact actually be opposed to a solution to the Afghan crisis. Many of the solutions advanced by outsiders are unworkable because they have not taken into account the hard realities of Afghanistan.

This does not mean, however, that the crisis defies solution. If the Soviet Union genuinely wants to bring about a workable solution, it can play an effective role.

First, it must remove about 5,000 top leaders of the Communist party (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan) to the Soviet Union. That is a negligible number of people when compared with the more than five million Afghan refugees living in Pakistan, Iran and elsewhere.

#### Centuries of Experience

Second, in order to monitor the phased withdrawal of the Soviet troops and at the same time serve as a deterrent to more chaos and bloodshed, it is essential for a United Nations peace-keeping force and an international supervisory commission to operate inside Afghanistan, along with an interim government whose leaders are at least acceptable to the majority of the people, until a representative government starts functioning.

Third, following the pullout of the Soviet troops, Afghans must be left free to bring about a government of their own choice. Afghanistan is not a new nation, and we don't need to be told how to organize a state for ourselves. In this respect we have well-experienced: We have well-tried, centuries-old social and political conventions and traditions; our main problem always has been foreign interference. Despite our economic and technical backwardness, our concern for independence always has been the most forceful ele-

On July 14, 1988, Pir Sayed Ahmed Gailani, leader of the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan held a Press Conference in the Political Office of NIFA, in Islamabad. Excerpts of the News Conference are as follows:

Sayed Ahmed Gailani, Chief of the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan (NIFA) has agreed to consider last week's proposal of the UN mediator Diego Cordovez for a provisional national government for reconstruction in his country.

The seven-party Afghan alliance of which he is the current Chairman has already rejected Cordovez's proposals and decided against meeting him when he was here last week.

"As Chairman of the alliance I have to follow their restrictions. When the alliance decided against meeting Cordovez, I obliged but here as NIFA Chief I am free", he said.

He said his party has always believed that the Mujahideen's struggle was to topple the system forcibly imposed on the people of Afghanistan but "we don't want to close all the doors of negotiations on everybody".

Pir Gailani stressed that despite this: "We will continue our struggle with full force until the regime in Kabul is toppled and a government of the people's liking is established".

He said NIFA did not want to impose itself or its ideology on anybody. "We do not want any other system or government to be forced on Afghans", he said.

On several occasions he repeated that he did not want to impose his politics on anybody and was just trying to keep "the doors open for a dialogue".

Gailani had announced his willingness to accept a neutral government in Kabul depended on the composition of the government itself. "It will only be acceptable to us if it comprised Islamic people and all those who had the blood of the Afghan nation on their hands were excluded".

He said Cordovez did not have one man's mandate. He had the mandate of a world body which "played an important role in creating an international understanding of the Afghan problem".

Pir Gailani disagreed with an Afghan reporter who said by agreeing to accept Cordovez's proposal he was also agreeing to forego the Mujahideen's claim over Afghanistan and was ready to accept a neutral government which will neither include the Mujahideen nor the PDPA. The NIFA chief claimed that the UN envoy had mentioned stepping aside of the PDPA regime in Kabul but he did not mention Mujahideen.

He said NIFA had already made it clear that they will not accept a government in Kabul even if it was neutral if it was not Islamic and acceptable to all the people of Afghanistan.

"We should have the strict assurance that a neutral government in Kabul shall work for the establishment of an Islamic government in Afghanistan", he said.

Gailani told journalists that the alliance had decided to reject Cordovez's proposals by a majority of votes.

The alliance, he said, had instead decided to have an elected Shura or national assembly in Afghanistan. This Shura was to be elected by the Mujahideen, the refugees and the people living in free Afghan territory, said the NIFA leader.

He rejected a suggestion that the Shura will not be a representative body of the entire Afghan nation as those living inside Afghanistan will not be participating in the elections to the Shura. He claimed that the Mujahideen occupied 80 percent of the Afghan lands and an election in which people living in 80 per cent of the total area of Afghanistan participate will certainly represent the majority of the people.

However, he said those in the PDPA will not be allowed to participate in those elections as their hands were red with Afghan blood.

He agreed with a questioner that Afghan women will not vote in these elections as it will be very difficult for them to do so under the prevailing conditions.

He said he will try to get this assembly elected during his tenure of three months as chairman of the alliance but if he fails, his successor will accomplish this task.

The Pir warned the journalists not to interpret his willingness to talk as an indication that he was going to take part in the future neutral government in Kabul as proposed by Mr. Cordovez.

The NIZA Chief said that no-body in the 7 party alliance wanted coalition with the PDPA and even Mr. Cordovez said that the PDPA government in Kabul will be disbanded before a neutral government was found. "There is no question of a coalition with the communists".

Asked whether the Mujahideen will agree to a ceasefire if the PDPA agree to do so, he said: "We will not lay down our arms until we are satisfied that this is no ploy. That it is really a neutral government acceptable to the Afghan people. Once we are convinced we will stop fighting".

On the question of Soviet prisoners of war, Gallani said the 7 Party alliance had decided to talk to the Russians on this issue if they take the initiative and talk to us. "Our decision is a humanitarian decision. We have been told a Soviet delegation was coming to Pakistan for talks about their POWs. We have also formed a delegation and if the Russians contact us, we are going to discuss the matter with them," he said.

He said only recently he met with the representatives of the International Red Cross and discussed the possibilities of exchange of letters between POWs and their families.

## TRIBAL FIGHTING AT SPIN BOLDAK

For two months there has been fighting on the border of Afghanistan and Pakistan at Spin Boldak between the regime militia of Ismat Muslim (former mujahideen commander who has defected to the regime) and mujahideen of Moorzai tribe. So far about 53 people have died and more than 150 have been wounded on the mujahideen (Moorzai) side.

Ismat Muslim was leader of the Fedayan-e-Islam (a resistance movement in south-west of Afghanistan) prior to his surrender to the regime.

Before the recent fighting began, Muslim crossed into Pakistan and went to the border town of Chaman. It is thought that he wanted to rejoin the resistance, bringing with him his entire force, which includes tanks, armoured cars and artillery. Within three hours he was back inside Afghanistan.

Many mujahideen still hold him in high regard, certain that he is not a Communist. Moreover, they say he has been evacuating the mujahideen wounded in fighting in four provinces (Kandahar, Zabul, Uruzgan and Helmand). His own militia take the wounded and deliver them to mujahideen in Chaman. Muslim also helps mujahideen going to Kandahar, guiding them past security posts and giving them food and transport.

Muslim, a tribal leader of the Achakzai, and the Moorzai tribe have had differences which pre-date the war. In the recent fighting, many mujahideen from other groups refused to be drawn into the conflict, which they think does not advance the resistance cause.

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ment in our national life just as our forefathers preferred independence to maternal progress, so today the overwhelming majority of Afghans unwaveringly follow in their footsteps, even in a confrontation with a Super Power. We are tired of war—but we will not sue for peace on the enemy's terms.

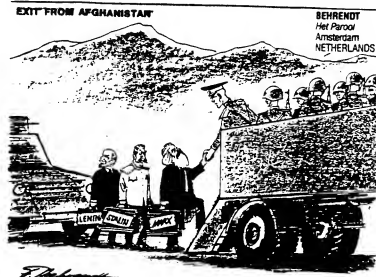
If these basic steps are followed, an agreement on the formation and composition of a broad-based interim government is possible. With the removal of Afghan communist functionaries and the pullout of Soviet troops, the first major steps will have been taken toward ending hostility and returning to normalcy.

The interim government should exist for a relatively

short period, during which a commission and a Loya Jirga (supreme national council) should be convened to debate and adopt it. This will pave the way, finally, for the establishment of a free, indigenous, representative government and the return of lasting peace.

Mr. Kakar, former head of the history department of Kabul University, was imprisoned by the communist regime in Afghanistan from 1982 until last March for the "crimes" of trying to form a human rights group and distribution of "antislavery literature". He recently escaped from Afghanistan.

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From WORLDVIEW MAGAZINE, Vol.1; #1, Summer 1988. The Magazine is published by the Nat'l Council of Returned Peace Corps Volunteers.

Afghan women living in Pakistan refugee camps have become isolated prisoners in their homes because of a reversion to strict Islamic fundamentalism in the camps. The densely-populated environment of the refugee camps has caused Afghan husbands to impose strict "purdah" on their wives, meaning they exit the house only for chores. Since the camps have no fields to till or animals to tend, women have no excuse to leave their homes. Doctors report severe depression among the women. Moslem rules were more relaxed in Afghanistan because villages were more homogeneous.

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# Zia edges towards clash with Kabul

From EDWARD GORMAN in Islamabad

THE leadership of the Afghan resistance alliance shifted last week from Muslim fundamentalists to moderates, while fears mounted that President Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan was edging his country closer to involvement in the war against the Marxist regime in Kabul.

General Zia, who has always backed the fundamentalist Mujahedeen factions, explained his surprise dismissal of the Pakistani Prime Minister and Government at the end of last month by saying they were not committed enough to turning Pakistan into a completely Islamic state.

The President has often tied the spread of Islam in Pakistan to the success of the Mujahedeen groups in Afghanistan. Last week, as part of his Islamic drive, he announced that traditional Sharia (Islamic law) would supersede existing laws.

Many opposition politicians are convinced that General Zia wants to increase tension along the border and provoke a backlash from Afghanistan. This would allow him to postpone elections which would probably usher in his sworn enemies.

Mr Abdul Rahim Mandokhel, the acting president of the Paktoon Khwanap party, which has a power base in Pakistan's Northwest Frontier province, said that Pakistan had stepped up shelling across the border, from the town of Chaman into Afghanistan.

"The shelling began in January but has intensified recently with Pakistani tanks openly firing into Afghanistan," he said.

General Zia suffered a setback last week when his closest ally among the Mujahedeen, the leader of the Hezb-i-Islami faction, Mr Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, handed over the chairmanship of the seven-strong alliance to Mr Pir Ahmed Gailani of the moderate Mahazi-Milli Islami. This was in line with an agreed three-monthly rotation of the position.

Despite allegations of assassinating opponents, start-

ing clashes with rival groups and evidence linking Hezb-i-Islami with the murder and kidnap of Western journalists and aid workers inside Afghanistan, Mr Hekmatyar continues to command the political high ground in the battle for power over a future liberated Afghanistan.

Mr Hekmatyar is hated by many of the other Afghan rebel leaders and the disintegration of the alliance was incorrectly predicted long ago. In the next three months, its fragile unity will be tested as Mr Gailani uses his position as chairman to promote the exiled King Zahir Shah as a figurehead leader of an interim government.

The 73-year-old king, who has lived in exile in Rome since being overthrown in 1973, is regarded by Mr Gailani and the two other moderate leaders as the only man known well enough throughout Afghanistan to establish a democratic government.

To Mr Hekmatyar and the fundamentalists, the return of the king would be an unacceptable step backwards to a corrupt secular regime which, they argue, allowed the country to get involved with the Soviet Union in the first place.

The change from Mr Hekmatyar also coincides with the abandonment of plans for a major offensive against the city of Jalalabad, 72 kilometres from the Pakistani border.

While many observers saw this as an attempt by Mr Hekmatyar to make a decisive move to retain the leadership, the field commanders in the Jalalabad area argued that an all-out assault could be disastrous and would kill thousands of rebels and civilians.

Given the extent of fortifications around Afghanistan's main cities, some analysts believe that the war could continue well into next year.

SCMP 6/20

It should be pointed out that Najib so far has failed in all such attempts to fool the people of Afghanistan. But, it seems he did succeed in fooling himself. Only time will tell how long he can afford to do so. Kayhan Int'l

# Kayhan

## The Withering of Najib

It has been said before that the appointment of Afghan President Najib more than two years ago was a Soviet attempt to put a brave face on a terminal situation. By placing a strong man in an untenable position the Soviets were and are looking for a decent interval between the retreat of their troops and the collapse of the Kabul regime.

Perhaps the clearest indication of that collapse will be revealed when the regime announces its retreat to the six northern provinces that have in recent months been consolidated into one administrative zone. It is reliably reported that thousands of East-bloc civil engineers and a wide variety of technical professionals have been in those areas for the past two years building the vital infra-structure for what might become the ramp end of a divided Afghanistan.

The jewel in the crown of this state in the making will not be the untapped diamond mines or gold fields said to exist in the area. The Jojzon gas pipeline west of Mazar Sharif (the projected "new" capital) and 100 kilometers from the Soviet border will be the initial economic centerpiece of President Najib's unratified state. The gas will also go a long way in helping the state foot the bill in the context of the new Soviet Afghan relationship for matters fiscal. In a nation bristling with armaments and intense security measures, the Jojzon pipeline has the distinction of being the most heavily guarded piece of real estate in the country.

Speaking at a press conference in New York on Tuesday, June 7, following his first appearance at the United Nations, President Najib said that 34,000 Soviet soldiers, approximately 29% of the Soviet force of 115,000 had withdrawn from Afghanistan as per the May 15 Geneva accords. He also again voiced the opinion that the armed forces of the Republic of Afghanistan were capable of defending the sovereignty of Afghanistan. This bit of rhetorical bravado does not square with the Afghan military's war record of the past nine years when they were reinforced and administered by the Soviet Red Army. It certainly doesn't ring true with respect to the tide of events since the Soviets made explicit their troop withdrawal terms in mid-March of this year. But it does jibe with the idea of a powerful personality holding off, temporarily at least, the deluge.

What Najib did not mention is that from mid-March to the present 18 district capitals and towns have been overrun by the mujahideen; distinguishing this period as the longest skein of military setbacks yet suffered by Kabul. This includes the district Sayedabad, 70 kilometers southwest of Kabul and astride a strategic highway that was supposed to have been a Soviet withdrawal route. In early May the key army garrisons of Chamkani and Jaji in Pakia Province bordering Pakistan were captured, thus increasing mujahideen pressure on Gardez and Khost, which had been recaptured from the mujahideen in early 1988.

Qandahar is now encircled by the mujahideen. This will probably translate into an air lift of the Soviet troops trapped there to the safety of home and a dose of patent Najibisms to explain away the embarrassing implications. Looking at a map of Afghanistan, tracing the distance from Kabul to Qandahar and being aware of the poor performance of the Afghan regime's war machine and its chronic lack of man power, one need not be clairvoyant or a military analyst to foretell the fall of Afghanistan's second largest city.

Geographically Qandahar appears in the southern central sector of the country. With the cities of Farah and Herat to the northwest and Ghazni and Kabul to the northeast, Qandahar represents the point of a V-shaped configuration. When it goes, resistance pressure in Farah and Herat provinces, which are already largely in mujahideen hands, will become irresistible. Kabul itself has been suffering its worst spate of attacks since the beginning of hostilities and it is no secret that when the Soviets leave the capital the liberation of Kabul will become a major mujahideen objective.

When this scenario comes to fruition (both Soviet and American analyses have reached similar conclusions; though the two sides couch it in very different language) the ramp state concept will become at least a temporary political fact. In case this new arrangement also collapses Mr. Gorbachev and company have already let it be known that such a situation would not spark a fresh Soviet invasion.

6/11

# Afghan army not collapsing

## Accommodation may replace war

By William Sexton

CHAMAN, Pakistan — For 25 days, Afghan rebels fought government forces in one of the fiercest battles of the long war — Kalashnikov rifle against Kalashnikov rifle, rocket against rocket, mujahideen Stinger missile against government fighter-bomber.

When the fighting ended June 19, Spin Buldak, a post five miles from the Pakistan border, was still in the control of the Soviet-backed government. The resistance had lost its first big offensive since the Soviets began handing Afghanistan's defense over to local forces May 15.

Six weeks into the phased withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the early collapse that some U.S. diplomats had predicted for President Najibullah's army is nowhere in sight.

Instead, some rebel commanders are openly reluctant to make war on their brother Afghans, who are replacing the Soviets.

Their hope, expressed in conversations with reporters, is that a political accommodation will soon end the need for further destruction.

And so, for the moment at least, the government in Kabul seems able to hold the ground it deems essential to its survival, without direct Soviet intervention — even at Spin Buldak, where geography particularly favored the mujahideen.

Other factors complicated the situation at Spin Buldak, which controls the route over which Kandahar, Afghanistan's second-largest city, gets its food and fuel.

The battle for the outpost was not a simple contest between the resistance and the Soviet-backed regime. It was also a turf struggle between two Afghan tribes whose rivalry in the area dates back nearly two centuries.

Moreover, the mujahideen offensive reportedly was launched by Islamic fundamentalists in the rebel alliance who feared that one of those tribes, whose men were holding Spin Buldak, was about to switch its loyalty from the Najibullah regime to traditionalists within the alliance who are at odds with the fundamentalists. The traditionalists favor the return of deposed King Mohammed Zahir Shah as a transitional leader.

To some scholars and other observers here, the war-within-a-war at Spin Buldak was merely the forerunner of the internecine struggles to come as the withdrawal of the Soviet army from Afghanistan proceeds.

Under the terms of the accord signed in Geneva in April, one-half of the estimated 15,000 Soviet occupation troops are to be pulled out of the country by Aug. 15. The rest are to be out by February.

In the meantime, the war appears to have settled "to a sort of stalemate — with the mujahideen capturing a dozen or more secondary outposts a week but the government demonstrating its ability to hold the major centers.

The same weekend that Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's fundamentalist Hezbe-Islami force gave up its bloody siege of Spin Buldak, other resistance forces had to abandon Qalat, 35 miles to the north, only two days after proudly announcing their first conquest of a provincial capital in the 8½-year-old war.

Kandahar, the key to holding Afghanistan's relatively fertile south, remains surrounded by resistance forces estimated at 20,000. That is probably the largest concentration of rebel forces since the Soviets' December 1979 invasion. But even rebel leaders concede that the innermost Soviet and Afghan government positions in Kandahar are virtually impregnable to frontal assault.

Some resistance commanders also say that they are reluctant to launch artillery assaults on towns because many of the Afghans there belong to the same families or tribes as the guerrillas.

In some cases the rebels have appealed to residents to evacuate towns before they launch sieges that they hope will encourage defections among government defenders. . . .

July 3, 1988

### THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

By S.J. Mastri

## The Afghan Resistance Keeps Fighting

Just six weeks after the Soviets began to leave Afghanistan, the Afghan resistance still sees more evidence of redeployment than withdrawal. Despite this, these freedom fighters—better armed and enjoying the highest morale so far—have overtaken more than 100 enemy posts in a strategy that has earned unrestrained admiration from Western diplomats.

Yet for the Afghan mujahideen and their refugee kinfolk, the greatest danger is now internal politics and misplaced pressure from their allies. On May 15, the Soviets held a highly publicized pullout from Jalalabad, later leaving the city of Ghazni and one district of Logar, all near the Pakistan border.

According to the political officer for Yousuf Khalisi's Hezbe-Islami Party, Abdul Qabir, "Last week the Soviets returned to Jalalabad; lots, but we don't know how many."

The mujahideen believe the Soviets are eventually going to go, but right now are regrouping their troops around key cities and strategic targets. While that helped postpone a siege of Jalalabad, it's slowing down the resistance generally.

Fighting remains furious in the southern city of Kandahar, which might soon fall from within, and the renowned resistance commander Mullah Malang last week opened more than 62 miles of the

Kandahar-Kabul road. With it fell a 900-man Soviet post in Qalat. Under heavy fire, the Soviets fled at night leaving thousands of gallons of fuel, armored vehicles, weapons and supplies.

The resistance is also getting more and better weapons from the West. On Friday, Commander Abdul Hag's troops attacked Kabul Airport with new Sacher incendiary rockets. They hit at least one SU-25 Soviet fighter-bomber preparing for takeoff, and the explosion caused seven more SU-25s and an ammo dump, causing, by conservative estimate, \$200 million in damage.

Mujahideen complain that the Western press keeps asking, irrelevantly, when key cities will fall. That, they say, comes later. Now they're fighting for roads and winning outposts while they play a different strategy inside the cities.

In Ghazni, where the nearest Soviet armored column is almost 10 miles away, mujahideen have free run in and out of the city. Troops of the Soviet-backed regime, by contrast, are bottled up in the governor's mansion, a fortress overlooking the city and other small positions. Cut off from supplies, the regime soldiers subsist on what rations they stockpiled when the Soviets left three weeks ago.

"We could defeat them in a week or two," says Ruhani Wardak, a Ghazni resistance leader, "but we want to protect the local civilians and do as much damage as possible from within."

The resistance leaders have highly localized regional commands, and they know that if one city faces an all-out attack, much of the regime and Soviet air force can pulverize them and the city they hope to govern.

Instead, they plan to continue their blitzkrieg strategy until the Soviet withdrawal hastens and regime troops are highly infiltrated and softened. Then they will try to take several cities simultaneously, diminishing the threat from the air.

"They're doing it right," says one Western diplomat in Pakistan. "They're being careful not to kill civilians, and they're not being reckless—even a temporary mujahideen defeat could embolden the regime."

Assuming that the Soviet withdrawal continues, the greatest threat to the leaders of the resistance lies elsewhere, to wit, pressure from their allies and arms suppliers to form an elected government-in-exile. Proponents say it would give the resistance parties international credibility; opponents say it could split their delicate alliance.

While mujahideen commanders cooperate in the field—sharing weapons, coordinating campaigns, even setting the most capable to command joint operations—their seven political party leaders in Peshawar are hardly so cooperative.

Two fringe parties, the monarchist National Islamic Front of Afghanistan (NIFA) and the extreme Islamic Hezbe-Islami faction of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar (not to be confused with the Hezbe-Islami Party of Yousuf Khalisi), have long received the lion's share of weapons despite their being small and militarily ill-managed. Much of their money is spent recruiting civilian party members in refugee camps rather than in fighting the Soviets.

Yet the political fortunes of both are waning, especially since the middle parties have the most commanders. These commanders are the real civil as well as military leaders inside Afghanistan. When the refugees return, the camps and the parties themselves will largely be forgotten at the Pakistan-Afghan border, and options for political moderation will expand.

Sensing this, both fringe parties—former enemies—are demanding elections now. Ballot boxes would be set up in refu-

gee camps, say NIFA officials, and key commanders would send representatives from Afghanistan. Votes would go to parties, which would allocate their percentage of seats in a resistance Parliament.

Many refugees in Pakistan are uninterested, hence unable to vote. Two million more live in Iran, two million in internal exile in Afghanistan, and democracy is difficult in a war zone.

"Such elections in the camps could be influenced by anybody," complains Naim Majrooh, director of Pakistan's Information Center in Peshawar. Mr. Majrooh fears corruption, but even the plan's advocates admit the likelihood of an electoral shambles.

Cementing a party structure that was established only with Western pressure as a channel for arms, and with it cementing fringe politics "could make Afghanistan look like Lebanon," says Mohammad Naim Farahi, a tribal leader from Farah province.

A better solution, say most Afghans, is a Loya Jirga, or traditional Afghan congress made up of district representatives, chiefly along tribal or ethnic lines. Yet this, too, is impractical in wartime. "We can't have a representative government until we get rid of the regime," says Kabul resistance commander Abdul Hag.

Under mounting pressure for democracy that many say is premature, the seven alliance leaders have agreed only in principle that elections are desirable, while NIFA and Mr. Hekmatyar's Hezbe-Islami Party push their own detailed agenda for polls in 90 days.

Many hope that as the mujahideen liberate more of their country, the parties will disappear as the need for weapons diminishes, and returning refugees will contribute to the grass-roots democracy already evolving inside Afghanistan. They also hope the middle parties can withstand the pressure for a poll.

Yet without Western pressure to forestall premature elections the political ambitions of the party leaders—arm-and-arms distributors may do more damage to a free Afghanistan than the Soviets could.

JUNE 29, 1988



# Afghans Hit by a Deadly Calling Card

By MARK FINEMAN,  
Times Staff Writer

THAL, Pakistan—For more than half his life, 12-year-old Shawar Gul could not play outside the family hut in Jai, Afghanistan. War was an unkind playmate.

Soviet helicopters strafed his village every week for nearly nine years. Artillery pounded into the fields like clockwork. Time and again, resistance fighters clashed with Afghan government troops, spraying machine-gun fire through the village.

But after nine long years of war, Jai was liberated a few weeks ago. Soviet troops, who have been withdrawing from Afghanistan since May 15, abandoned their garrisons in the village near this Pakistani border town, leaving them for the *moujahedeen* resistance fighters to reclaim.

## It Wasn't a Butterfly

Shawar Gul finally went out to play last week, and it was only then that war took a direct part in the boy's life. He was in the family vegetable garden when he spotted a shiny new plastic toy on the ground. It looked like a butterfly. Shawar recalled this week with a smile.

It wasn't. It was a Soviet land mine disguised as a toy, and it blew off most of the boy's left hand.

Shawar Gul is hardly alone. In the bed at the men's ward of the American-financed Freedom Medicine Hospital here, he was surrounded by mine victims—limbless boys and *moujahedeen* fighters who are among the first in what doctors and military analysts here already say is an epidemic of newly war-wounded in Afghanistan: victims of land mines that are the latest brutal chapter in a war that has claimed 15 million lives.

## Deadly Calling Cards

Like unwanted visitors leaving deadly calling cards, they report, withdrawing Soviet and Afghan government troops have been seeding the already devastated Afghan landscape with millions of land mines that will kill and maim an estimated 10,000 Afghan men, women and children in the months to come.

The mines are also the principal reason why few, if any, of the 3 million Afghan refugees who have been living for years in the squalor of Pakistani border camps are returning to their villages, despite the Soviet troop withdrawal.

"People are going to be blown up for the next 20 years in Afghanistan," said one diplomat in Pakistan. "People are going to be killed. People are going to be maimed, and the civilians are going to take the brunt of it. The effect is going to be disastrous on the refugees when they return."

U.S. military analysts have estimated that there are now between 3 million and 5 million land mines of various types scattered throughout Afghanistan. Many are old, planted many years ago by Soviet troops to form defense perimeters when they established outpost garrisons to fight the *moujahedeen*. Clearly, though, many more are recently planted and deliberately aimed at retaking the *moujahedeen's* efforts to relocate territory abandoned by the Soviets.

Doctors and aid workers on the border say that the purpose of planting the mines also is to maim Afghan civilians trying to re-establish villages, which resistance fighters can use as safe havens as they move closer to the Afghan capital of Kabul.

Diplomatic observers and independent, international refugee workers on the border also added that their greatest concern is the seeding of mines like the one that blew off Shawar Gul's left hand. Disguising mines as toys is not new; the numbers in which these and other mines are being dumped is, however.

"The biggest problem is that, in addition to mine-seeding around the abandoned garrisons, the mines are being found in vegetable gardens and fields along village footpaths and in places where only civilians will go," said one United Nations relief worker who asked not to be identified. "The U.N. has asked the Soviets about this, and we are told only that they have no maps indicating just where these mines are located. As anyone will tell you, this is going to be an enormous problem for us in the future as we try to resettle and reconstruct the Afghan nation."

The absence of maps comes as no surprise to veteran aid workers like Robert Brenner, whose Honolulu-based Freedom Medicine Relief Agency for the past three years has been training Afghan *moujahedeen* as paramedics and operating the border surgical hospital in Thal where Shawar Gul and his fellow mine victims are being cared for.

"We know for a fact that the Soviets have been seeding all of these border villages and towns from helicopters for months," said Brenner, who gathers information about the war from *moujahedeen* commanders and injured fighters at his hospital and has also started collecting samples of the mines and booby-traps. "They just lost them out the side of the helicopter, and wherever they fall, they fall."

"There are some that are like butterfly- or toy-mine variety. Others are designed to look like bailout pens. When you pick it up and smash the top, it explodes."

"These devices are only meant for maiming—not to kill. If you maim a child, the whole family has to leave the village and go to the [refugee] camps in Pakistan, and the child goes to the support system for the *moujahedeen*."

Brenner's border hospital, which is financed half by the U.S. government and half by private donation, is something of a barometer of the current state of the war. Nicknamed *Al-Freedom*, it runs ambulances across the border into Af-

ghanistan, which collect the wounded within hours of their injuries.

In interviews this week, the patients—half of whom are mine victims—said Soviet forces also are using bombing sorties to slow the *moujahedeen's* recent progress. Resistance leaders said they have been retaken at least 30 towns and 150 military command posts in the month since the Soviets started their withdrawal.

A resistance fighter in the emergency room, his body full of shrapnel, said that his village in the Chown district near Jai had been bombed by Soviet MIG fighter jets over the weekend, a few weeks after his unit had moved in.

"I was expecting this," said the hospital's chief surgeon, Dr. Hesham Mohammed Hashim, a prominent physician who fled Kabul in September, 1986, when the Afghan secret police learned that he secretly had been treating injured resistance fighters at the Kabul University Hospital.

"Before the last few days, it was mostly mine victims. But now we're getting bombing victims as well. The people [in Kabul] waited for me to go back to the villages, and then they started bombing."

Still, Hashim said, it is the mine victims who continue to fill his surgical hospital, just 10 miles from Afghanistan. "At least one or two every night," he said. "The mines are just everywhere now," he said.

What is as striking as the human toll from the mines, though, is the attitude of the victims.

## New Type of Explosives

Just 24 hours after his right foot had been amputated after a mine blast, Abdul Rab, a 21-year-old *moujahedeen* fighter from the northern provinces of Afghanistan, was smiling in his hospital bed as he described the mine that also filled much of his body with shrapnel.

"It was greenish-yellow in color and made of plastic," he said, discussing his wounds strictly in the context of their military implications. "These are new ones. We are seeing these only in the last few weeks—these and the inverted grenades that are detonated by thin trip wires. We are trying to learn how to defuse these, but it will take time."

Asked what he will do now that he has lost a foot, Rab appeared surprised by the question.

"Of course I will go back and fight," he said, adding that two of his six brothers already have been killed in the war. "I will get an artificial foot and return to my *moujahedeen* unit within a month."

For fighters like Rab, the Pakistani city of Peshawar is the next stop before returning to war. In the border capital of Pakistan's Northwest Frontier, there is an artificial limb hospital run by the International Committee of the Red Cross that already has provided nearly 3,000 legs, arms, hands and feet to maimed Afghans, many of them within the last several months.

# L. A. Times falsehood

SAN FRANCISCO,

JUNE 27,

Los Angeles Times, one of the largest circulation newspapers in the United States, has published a gross falsehood. It contains a story about a mine which have been set off by American mass media on more than one occasion already following the signing of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. They impute to Soviet troops acts of terrorism against civilian population, which are staged by armed opposition formations with Washington backing.

Mark Fineman, Los Angeles Times correspondent in Pakistan, writes about a massive use of plastic booby traps (mines disguised as toys) against Afghan civilians. These mines, he writes, are designed to maim and maim, in the first place, Afghan children.

Noteworthy is the detailed description of this terrorist weapon and of the mechanism of its operation which was presented by him. It is symptomatic that at all these details Fineman has learnt from Afghan anti-government rebels and US military analysts. The latter have estimated, he writes, that "there are now between 3 million and 5 million land mines of various types throughout Afghanistan, which will kill and maim an estimated 10,000 Afghan men, women and children in the months to come".

## State-of-the-Art Limbs

There is also a private charitable clinic at a Peshawar hospital that makes almost state-of-the-art limbs for wounded Afghans. It is run by the Sani Gul Foundation in London, and, although it has been open for just six months, the orthopedic workshop already has fitted new legs for 150 Afghan mine victims. Director Leslie Johnstone said he has 60 more on the waiting list.

"The best guess we have at the moment is that there will be something like 10,000 more mine victims. Whatever time frame for that will be [in] is anybody's guess," Johnstone said, as several of his patients hobbled through the hospital hallway on crutches.

"But one thing's for sure. When you start looking at numbers like that, it's hard to listen to these people who think the war in Afghanistan is nearly over."

Los Angeles Times

June 27, 1988

Items from the FRONTIER POST (Peshawar):

## Soviet soldiers' uniforms on sale in Juma bazar

**From Our Special Correspondent**  
**ISLAMABAD** — The military uniform of Soviet troops fighting in Afghanistan are being sold in Juma Bazar here by the Afghan refugees. These refugees who are busy in the business of carpets and antiques for the last eight years have displayed the uniforms on the roadside of Juma Bazar.

Diplomats of the Western and Eastern countries and their wives who are regular visitors to Juma Bazar showed keen interest in the uniforms. The wives of diplomats put various questions to the Afghan refugees as they were interested to know how and from where they managed to bring these uniforms. The Afghan shopkeepers were demanding Rs. 1,000 for each uniform while the cap and stars were on sale for Rs. 500.

The old Soviet currency is also displayed for sale in the Juma Bazar. An Afghan refugee admitted that they had made good fortune out of the sale of uniforms. He said the Soviet troops leaving Afghanistan had themselves presented the Afghan people with their belongings, including the uniforms.

The Western diplomats believe that the uniforms belong to those Soviet prisoners of war who are being held by Afghan mujahideen.

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## MALANG REJOINS

Former Mujahideen Commander Mohammad Malang along with his 150 militiamen rejoined the Mujahideen.

Quoting Hezb-i-Islami Afghanistan (Hikmatyar) the Afghan media resource centre said that Mohammad Malang four

# Ahmad Shah Masud may join Afghan coalition govt.

## F.P. Report

Negotiations are going on between the Afghan government and resistance commander Ahmad Shah Masud for the latter's induction in the broad-based coalition government. *The Frontier Post* learnt on good authority.

The source said that negotiations were taking place between the two parties through the brothers of Ahmad Shah Masud who recently returned to Kabul after a long exile in Pakistan.

The source was hopeful about positive results of the negotiations and said that Ahmad Shah Masud would soon join the Afghan government.

Din Mohammad and Dr. Naseem, brothers of Ahmad Shah Masud had reportedly surrendered to the Afghan government. The latter is the son-in-law of Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani, Amir of Jamiat-i-Islami Afghanistan.

## Afghan leaders meet Cordovez

**ISLAMABAD** — A five-member delegation of the Afghan Milli United Front on Saturday had an hour long meeting with the U.N. secretary general's personal representative on Afghanistan, Mr. Diego Cordovez, and discussed at length the Geneva accord and its implementation.

The delegation which comprised Haji Basir from Kandahar, Brig. Abdul Rehman from Kabul, Engineer Mohammad Shah from Paktia and Abu Bakar Barez from Herat, was led by Haji Mohammad Ilmas, head of the front.

The Afghan leaders appreciated

The source said the brothers of Ahmad Shah Masud have been pursuing their brother to avail of Dr. Najibullah's offer for creating a peaceful atmosphere.

Azam Shinwari, a resistance fighter who recently shifted to Afghanistan, had been appointed governor of the Nangarhar province while Bashir Baghlani, a commander of the resistance forces, was appointed minister in the broad-based government of Dr. Najibullah.

With the joining of the coalition government by Ahmad Shah Masud, the Afghan authorities would succeed in strengthening their multi-party system of government.

Ahmad Shah Masud holds a strong position in resistance groups and has established an independent state in Panjshir valley of Kapisa province. The valley is situated between Gulbazar and Jabal-us-Siraj, two important

Mr. Cordovez's proposal for Loya Jirga and assured him of their full co-operation in this regard. They explained to Mr. Cordovez that convening of Loya Jirga was traditional from centuries and was thus best in the interest of the people of Afghanistan. The withdrawal of Soviet troops and implementation of Geneva accord and ultimate convening of Loya Jirga would help restoration of peace in Afghanistan.

The leader of the delegation later presented proof of support they have from the large number of Afghan freedom fighters and mujahideen from nearly 28 provinces of Afghanistan.

The leaders later left for Peshawar. —PPI

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of the Kabul highway which connects Afghanistan with the Soviet Union.

Ahmad Shah Masud started armed struggle against the Afghan government after the invasion of Soviet troops in Afghanistan in 1979. He never affiliated himself with any political party based in Pakistan or Iran. He also never left his country as a refugee.

Dr. Najibullah in his speech during the recent Loya Jirga acclaimed Ahmad Shah Masud as protector of the homeland and expressed the desire to meet him for peacefully solving the differences.

The source added that the return of many mujahideen commanders and refugees to their homeland could not be ruled out if Ahmad Shah Masud joined the Afghan government.

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## Resistance group accused of killing 40 Afghans

### F.P. Monitoring Report

Soviet Union has accused the Afghan resistance group, Hizb-e-Islami, of killing 40 Afghan citizens with poisonous gas. BBC reported last night.

The broadcast, quoting Soviet news agency Tass, said that the group carried out the attack in the north of Kabul in Zarghoun village of Logar province.

Tass also accused Pakistani advisers of making the film of the dead bodies so that the Soviet soldiers may be held responsible for these deaths. Tass gave no detail when the attack was carried out.

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# Ahmed Shah denies joining coalition Govt.

**From Our Peshawar Bureau**

**JULY 11:** The Jamat-i-Islami Afghanistan chief, Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani, today termed as baseless and unfounded the report about joining of Ahmad Shah Masud in the Communist-dominated coalition government of Kabul.

In a statement issued to al-Bunyan News Service (ANS) through the political office of Jamat-i-Islami Afghanistan, Prof. Rabbani said, "The story, which

appeared in a Peshawar daily today regarding Mr. Ahmed Shah Masud, is totally wrong and intentionally falsified. Commander Masud is in close contact with me (Prof. Rabbani) and therefore all the reports concerning his contacts with the Communist regime are completely baseless.

Speaking to al-Bunyan News Service on telephone, Masud Khaili, a spokesman for Jamat-i-Islami, strongly rebuked this report

PT 7/12



# Post-war rehabilitation in Afghanistan

THE PAKISTAN TIMES

BASHIR AHMAD

Since it started in December 1979 the war in Afghanistan has claimed a million men, destroyed thousands of homes and disrupted innumerable well-knit, long-settled families leading peaceful lives. There will be more of sweat, toil and tears as the savage conflict shows no sign of abatement, much less of termination. It drags on. Students of history are reminded of the Mongol invasion of Genghis Khan in the 13th century when his armies of occupation ruined the country's system of irrigation, turning fertile valleys into barren deserts and depopulating the centres of Afghan culture.

The Soviet army has practised scorched-earth tactics: food production was destroyed, on purpose, centuries-old irrigation channels blown up and water-wells poisoned. Crops standing in the fields were burnt out while cattle fell victim to mines planted by Russians who also indulged in human bombing of peaceful settlements and sometimes resorted to chemical warfare. Government and Soviet troops blocked delivery of food and medicines to villagers while those taken prisoners were executed on the spot and persons suspected of belonging to the Opposition were tortured during questioning an often held without trial. The country was systematically laid waste for about a decade. Owing to inhospitable conditions more than three million Afghan inhabitants sought refuge in Pakistan while another two million fled to Iran. In spite of the Russians withdrawing armed struggle between the Mujahideen and Najibi's forces continue to be waged with relentless ferocity and its termination is no where in sight. Pak territory is subjected to bombing from across the border while Khad and its agents perpetrate sabotage and other subversive acts inside our country. Mikhail Gorbachev frowns at Pakistan for not adhering to the Geneva Accord, without adducing evidence to substantiate the charge. He has threatened to slow down the pace of border withdrawal and troop pullout (June 15) if attacks by the Mujahideen on his troops persist and arms supply to the Resistance did not stop. One has to mark Mr. Gorbachev's words in context. "This is the first occasion on which the U.S. and USSR have signed an agreement to settle a regional issue, with local powers. If they fail this time, the positive precedent will be ruined, with far-reaching consequences that will affect other regions". The U.N. mediators on the other hand, has complimented the parties for adherence to the accord and its faithful implementation.

Though hostilities within Afghanistan have not ceased, the United Nations has embarked upon rehabilitation programmes in the wake of Russian withdrawal and Secretary-General Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar has appointed Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan as the U.N. Co-ordinator for reconstruction work. Teams of U.N. experts will reach Afghanistan during the current month to undertake the task of rebuilding its economy and looking after refugees returning home after a lapse of considerable time. Subsequent to the signing of Geneva Accord, with the blessing of the two superpowers, relief and reconstruction operations can no longer brook delay, being of stupendous dimensions and bound to be spread over some years.

The emergent task warrants to be tackled speedily to usher in stability. Stating that withdrawal is proceeding according to schedule Mr. Cordovez has mooted the idea of a national government for peace and reconstruction in Kabul, a prelude to the emergence of a representative government which he has termed as "a cooling off period" beginning September 1, 1988. A Loya Jirga should be instrumental in reaching consensus on a government which will determine the final shape of things. His proposal stipulates "a cooling off period" beginning September 1, 1988, with the evolution of a broad-based government, ceasefire, cessation of active struggle by all contenders and eventual convening of a Loya Jirga on March 1, 1989, in conformity with Afghan traditions. It is for the Afghans themselves to decide the issue as Mr. Cordovez can only promote the idea of a caretaker government. After meeting President Zia-ul-Haq on the conclusion of his latest shuttle diplomacy he stated that the General fully supported and endorsed his scheme regarding Afghanistan's future.

A thorny regional conflict was resolved in Geneva on April 14, 1988, envisaging pullout of Soviet troops and return of refugees, economic rehabilitation and establishment of a legitimate government. The United States and the Soviet Union are guarantors of the agreement. Javier Perez de Cuellar's appeal (of June 10) for humanitarian and economic assistance to Afghans has evoked considerable sympathy from the world community. The response has been spontaneous — and that too on a large scale. Most donors, however, want the U.N. to ensure that aid does not fall into the control of the "illegitimate" Kabul regime. They stress that international aid should be channelled to meet "humanitarian purposes". It may be stated that some time back when Najibullah's government approached the

United Nations for funds for resettlement, etc; the request was turned down. As anticipated, Pakistan had opposed it in the world forum. The Soviet Bloc favours channelling aid through Kabul Administration. The Soviet Union, whose troops have begun to pull out after eight years of savage war, has announced it will join multilateral assistance programme and take part in the plebiscite conference for Afghanistan to be held in Geneva in July. However, it did not specifically say whether the Kabul regime, which Moscow totally disavows, should have any role in handling aid.

While applauding the United Nations efforts at reconciliation and expressing kudos for the same, it has to be acknowledged that war-torn Afghanistan is yet in a state of travail and turmoil which will end only when an agreed government takes shape and cease-fire is applied. Kabul Government and the Resistance are still interlocked in interminable fighting, a virtual civil war, and the two superpowers stake the furnace of belligerence against providing economic and military hardware to their respective protégés. Mr. Diego Cordovez has initiated efforts to persuade the warring factions to evolve a government and the Resistance representative national government to bring cessation of hostilities so that reconstruction commences in right earnest. Mr. Cordover, who has already held consultations in Islamabad and Kabul during his 11-day sojourn in the region, counts on the Afghans own traditions to formulate a consensus on an acceptable government. As the Secretary-General's Special Representative he has "placed himself at the disposal of Afghan people" and will continue his efforts to help the Afghans reach an agreement for a government, with participation of all factions of Afghan people so that refugees return home to ultimately elect a government of the people's choice. Because of uncertain conditions, which are conducive to refugees return, they decline to trek back. According to Gulbadin Hikmatyar of the Islamic Unity of Afghan Mujahideen (IUAM), the Kabul regime will be toppled in the next seven months, war will come to end and IUAM will take over the reins of government to welcome back Afghans residing in Pakistan and Iran.

Following the Secretary-General's appeal Sadruddin Aga Khan has already received pledges totalling \$ 25 million though the target set by him is \$1 billion for 18 months. This 18-month aid programme has been equitably distributed to meet food and rehabilitation requirements of returning refugees on an emergency footing and development work. This programme will be implemented

with assistance from many relief and development agencies of the United Nations. The first phase of the U.N. plan covers aid to homecoming refugees and re-establishment of farms destroyed by civil war. According to a survey conducted by a private Swedish firm, one third of agricultural fields have been devastated and crop acreage has been reduced to half; cultivators are left with very few animals.

The United States made no direct pledge at the first meeting (June 15) of donors, but it would contribute nearly \$119 million worth of economic and food assistance to the Afghan people this year and intends to continue the high level of assistance. The U.S. representative, Richard S. Williamson, however, stated that aid should not come under the control of Kabul regime which "lacks credibility with refugees and controls little territory". British delegate John Birch said his Government expected the bulk of assistance to returnees under a settlement programme, not to be channelled through unrepresentative authorities.

The largest pledge came from Sweden. Sweden's representative said Ottawa planned to provide aid worth 60 million Canadian dollars (49 million U.S.) over the next two years, including 21 million Canadian dollar worth of food to be distributed by the international agencies. Other countries, which pledged aid, included Britain, Japan, Canada, Finland, Norway and the Netherlands. Denmark will also contribute towards Afghan refugees' resettlement. A decision regarding a redraft was recently taken by the Danish Parliament in Copenhagen, approving \$4 million in additional aid for various welfare projects inside Afghanistan. The Danish Government was already engaged in welfare work of refugees in Pakistan, through the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR). Other affluent countries of the world are also expected to partake in a rehabilitation effort.

U.N. experts are expected to arrive in Afghanistan soon to start rebuilding economy and looking after refugees. According to the Pakistani Times, Prince Sadruddin said these teams will first, go to such peaceful areas where fighting has ended. Their first task will be the reconstruction of villages and help in soil cultivation so as to create an atmosphere favourable for repatriation of refugees. "First, we will restore normal life in peaceful areas where people have not left their homes", he elaborated. The Prince intends to establish peace zones in areas controlled by the Mujahideen Government of President Najibullah and those by Mujahideen. He emphatically declared that the objective of U.N. relief efforts was to help the people through Rural Councils, religious leaders and organisations rendering service on humanitarian grounds. He said he

would not allow any party involved in the eight-year war to use this assistance for political objectives.

Richard S. Williamson, who is also U.S. Coordinator for Afghan Affairs, said he is convinced the \$2.2 billion United Nations multilateral assistance programme for the resettlement of Afghan refugees will succeed "and in doing so help advance interest of major importance to the United States". The U.S. is a munificent donor of humanitarian assistance in the project. In addition to \$119 million for the fiscal year 1988, S. Williamson said an additional \$23 million in food aid has been allocated, bringing the total to \$142 million for fiscal 1988. He said the United States was encouraged by Pakistan to contribute substantially. He said he was making it clear to the Soviet Union that "it should make a major financial contribution to the special international effort" because the Soviet Union "destroyed the country of Afghanistan" and "is obligated to pay a major part of the bill to rebuild it" a form of reparation for losing the war and damage done. He cautioned that the Soviet contribution to the United Nations must come without strings or any requirement that the funds be used to bolster the illegitimate Kabul regime", adding that his Government will be watching this matter closely. "We are content that the U.N. effort will be directed in ways supportive of the interests of the Afghan people. The U.N. Secretary-General Mr. Cuellar has suggested verification measures to assure both donors and the recipients that aid was going to its intended purposes. Prince Sadruddin has said that when he toured the area in June, both President Najibullah and Muhammad assured him that they would allow the U.N. organisations to work freely in their controlled areas and would not try to take advantage of their work. This augurs well for Afghanistan and its people to end long suffering of the silent majority and eventually facilitate inauguration of a government, representing all sections of Afghan society. The horned state of affairs which has gripped the country for a long time, after all, promises to take a turn for the better with an Islamic set-up in the offing which will completely demolish India's ambition of hegemony in the area and playing a muni superpower.

The Pakistan Times

JULY 23, 1988

# Sayyaf rejects Cordovez as mediator

From Our Peshawar Bureau

PESHAWAR, July 11: Prof. Abdurrah Rasul Sayyaf, Amir Ittihad-i-Islami, who is currently inside Afghanistan: has sent the following policy statement to all Bunyan News Service (ANS).

"Mr. Cordovez had not been accepted as mediator by us in the past, nor has he any mandate to mediate now. His efforts are one-sided and are aimed at fulfilling the aims of our enemies. His latest proposal for a government of peace and reconstruction is the last chain of subversion and subjugation, jointly framed by the enemies of our Jihad who wish to enslave the Afghan Muslim nation and so cleverly, as to take us by surprise.

All of Mr. Cordovez's efforts are aimed to prevent Islam and Muslims from taking over in Afghanistan. We have fully understood these plots and those who extend help to Mr. Cordovez to remove Mujahideen from the scene and create obstacles in the establishment of Mujahideen's government, who have sacrificed one and half million martyrs in the defence of their country and in fact, siding against our Jihad knowingly and unknowingly. It is a clear antagonism against our struggle. Our future history will surely record all these open and secret enemies.

"I declare once again to the whole world that, Mujahideen as the real party in Afghan issue have never accepted Mr. Cordovez as mediator nor do they accept him now. Mr. Cordovez, it seems, has begun open hostility towards the aims and goals of our Islamic struggle. He does not hear the cries and agonies of oppressed, instead, all his motives are directed against us at the instigation of the oppressor and usurper. His logic and reasoning is nothing but stems from hostility towards us. Let me emphatically stress, that not only the efforts of Mr. Cordovez will fail

to achieve security and peace in the region, it will also intensify the flames of war. Neither the issue of Jihad is so small a matter which can be played with by people like Mr. Cordovez nor the Afghan nation is so immature and worthless that her future be decided by outsiders. No enemy in the disguise of peace, can play with the fate of Afghan nation. If Afghan issue belongs to us and Afghanistan belongs to it's people, we flatly reject this mediator (Cordovez) and his plans. I warn that we will not accept in any way, the results of his mediation, and if Afghan issue does not belong to us or some people regard it as an unclaimed booty and extend help to Mr. Cordovez to realise his anti-Jihad, anti-Islam and anti-Afghan designs, they will be held responsible for the consequences they will be responsible for the loss of the independence of Afghanistan and lawful rights of our Muslim nation.

"I demand from all friends to Afghan people and Islam and Jihad to recongnise the Interim Government of Mujahideen and stand like a solid rock behind it, as this government of God willing will take the affairs of Afghanistan in near future. This is the only way of peaceful solution to Afghan issue, those who honestly wish to solve this problem peacefully, must unite in their efforts to consolidate the government of Mujahideen. They must foresake all anti-Afghan plans which seek to stand against the wishes of the Muslim Afghan nation.

"I call upon all commanders of Mujahideen, dedicated countrymen and the glorious sons of Muslim Ummah to follow all the on-going designs and plots against Afghanistan very seriously and knowingly at this critical juncture of Jihad. They must make sure that the plots of our foes, aimed at depriving Mujahideen from reaping the fruits of 12 years long countless sacrifices and wish to destroy and burn down it.

As per reports, the father of Mr. Gulab Zoi came and requested Najibullah to get his son back to Afghanistan from USSR, but Mr. Najibullah consoled him by saying that very soon they shall all be in Russia.

The sources report that Brig. Gul Rahim, the incharge security force of the Dr. Najibullah has desert along with 370 security guard personnel and is now fighting Jihad against the Kabul regime. It has been further learnt that he has captured two of the important security posts north of Kabul airport.

July 24, 1988

The Pakistan Times

# USSR continues arms supply to Kabul

LONDON, July 14: As the Soviet army units go north, huge Soviet truck convoys continue to roll down the south-bound lanes of the main highway from the USSR into Kabul, reliable reports reaching here said.

Soviet Generals admit that they have already agreed to leave behind roughly one billion U.S. dollars worth of equipment and supplies for the Afghan government forces, but these new convoys continue to bring ammunition, weapons, spareparts and fuel into the capital. The Soviet trucks brought in large long-range missiles. New armoured cars have also been brought in.

Not all of the supplies will make it to the front. A group of Afghan army officers destroyed the huge ammunition depot in Herat, and then defected to the resistance. The secondary explosion continued for about three hours, and caused damage up to seven kilometres away. Maj.-Gen. Fazal Ahmed Sulehi, who commanded the supply operations for Afghan forces in western Afghanistan, had defected from his Herat base headquarters Kandahar, and Kabul have been the main depots for the new Soviet supplies, although the Afghan army's eighth division has rebuilt in Kargah depot, which resistance fighters had destroyed.

Despite the slowness of the withdrawal, the continued military operations and the on-going supply

effort, the Soviet soldiers unlike their generals, appear eager to go home. Col. Alexei Gorokov, 'Pravda's' chief military correspondent, accompanied the first large Soviet unit out of Afghanistan and told reporters in Temez, Uzbekistan, the soldiers of the first motorised rifles brigade had hardly even slowed down the pace of their 400 kilometres-long drive back into Soviet territory, even though they came under fire three times during the journey. From the exact moment they crossed the border, the Colonel wrote of the Soviet soldiers, "you could the look in their eyes that they knew at last they were home."

While most Soviets are going out by road, some of those stationed in more remote or more dangerous areas of the country have been taken out by air. Several hundred Soviet soldiers were flown out of Kandahar in the first three days of June but the withdrawal orders for one of the Soviet regiments at Kandahar were cancelled at the last minute. Soviet aircraft have not been withdrawn either, and continue to make regular bombing runs on suspected Mujahideen positions throughout the country, especially around Kandahar, Kabul and in the Panjsher Valley.—PPI.

7/15

7/12

# 13 States pledge \$ 100 m. aid for Afghanistan

GENEVA, July 22: Thirteen Western countries have pledged to contribute 100 million dollars in aid to war-ravaged Afghanistan, a top U.N. official said.

Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, the U.N. Co-ordinator for Humanitarian and Economic Assistance Programmes for Afghanistan, told a meeting of the U.N.'s Economic and Social Council in Geneva that other major donor nations would soon announce initial contributions.

The United Nations launched a 1.16 billion dollar appeal on June 10 for humanitarian and economic aid, to help repair the ravages of eight years of war in Afghanistan.

Prince Sadruddin, who visited Moscow earlier this month, said he was particularly pleased that the Soviet Union had also publicly pledged to contribute to the U.N. rehabilitation programme.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told him during the visit that the Soviet Union had allocated 305 million roubles (510 million dollars) in aid to returning refugees and 60 million roubles (100 million dollars) in reconstruction aid for war damage.

Moscow has pledged under a U.N. mediated accord signed in Geneva in April to withdraw its estimated 100,000 troops from Afghanistan by next February.

Prince Sadruddin, who was appointed after the accord was signed, described the response from the international community so far remarkably enthusiastic and generous.

He said he planned to call a pledging conference in the autumn, possibly to coincide with the opening of the U.N. General Assembly.—Reuter.

7/23

# Najib will resign if situation does not improve

Reports from Kabul said that Dr. Najibullah, the current head of the Soviet-backed Kabul regime, decided to resign his post on July 20, due to the prevailing chaotic situation in Afghanistan.

Reportedly the Soviet Adviser and Mr. Aslam Watan Jar urged upon him to reconsider his decision. Very reluctantly Najibullah agreed to wait for another 15 days and as per sources in case the situation did not improve by then he shall resign.

It is further reported that Mr. Gulab Zoi, the Interior Minister of Afghanistan, who objected to put 'Saranto' force, (civil-armed forces of Afghanistan) under the Afghan army has been arrested and dispatched by Najibullah to USSR and he is still in Russia.

The Pakistan Times

From the Editor:

Many Afghans will miss Zia ul-Haq who was their champion for 10 years. What will happen next is anyone's guess & some comments on his demise appear on pages 9 & 36.

About the only good news is that some Soviets appear to have left Afghanistan. Speculation as to what they are leaving behind & various suggestions for filling their vacuum appear on the following pages, with the type, unfortunately, somewhat reduced. The reduction in many instances, like the Soviet withdrawal, is, however, not as great as it might have been.

Peshawar by all reports is awash in reconstructionists; everyone looking to do their bit & for a piece of the financial action. Who gets who's money may be even more of a battle than the jihad!

Robert Oakley is the new US Ambassador to Pakistan. The FORUM wonders if his wife Phyllis will be named the Special Assistant to the Ambassador for Afghan Affairs (see p. 26). She was the Afghan Desk Officer at the State Dept. for several years & by now must be tired of parroting official announcements.

Our thanks to everyone who sent us clippings & information. Please continue to do so as we can be informative only if you tell us what you are doing.

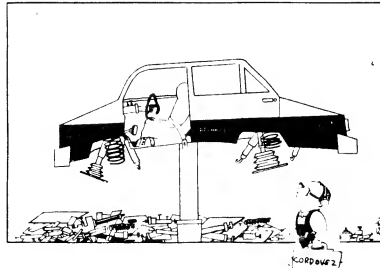
The deadline for the next issue is 10/15.

## EVENTS

The annual meeting of the MIDDLE EAST STUDIES ASSOCIATION will take place in Beverly Hills, California, at the Beverly Hilton, from 11/2 - 11/5. There will be two panels on "Prospects for Rebuilding Afghanistan." Organized by Robert Canfield & Nazif Shahrani, panel topics will range from the prospects for reconciliation & possible future governments through problems in restoring pastoralism, education & the economy to "Prospects for the Constructive Use of Afghan Music in Radio & TV." Scheduled participants are Thomas Barfield, David Edwards, Ravan Farhadi, Louis & Nancy Dupree, Alam Payind, Barnett Rubin, Ishaq Nadiri, Ehsanjan Areef, Olivier Roy, Mobin Shorish, Habibullah Tegyi, Margaret Mills, Lorraine Sakata, Robert Canfield, Nazif Shahrani, Saifur Rahman Halimi & Ashraf Ghani. The panels are co-sponsored with the Assn. for Central Asian Studies and will probably be scheduled for Thursday, November 3.

The AFGHANISTAN RELIEF COMMITTEE is planning a second conference of Afghanistan Humanitarian Support Organizations (CAHSO) for the weekend of February 3-5, 1989, at the Barbi-zon Hotel in New York City. Participation will be by invitation. Further information is available from the ARC, 667 Madison Avenue, 18th Floor, New York, NY 10021.

Afghan Women were the topic of a day-long meeting held in Zurich on June 11. Sponsors included the Friends of Afghanistan (Basel & Lausanne), the Bibliotheca Afghanistanica, the Swiss Committee for Understanding the Afghan People, the Swiss-Afghan Coordination Committee & the Socialist Freedom Party.



By FICA  
Frontier Post 7/8

# What exactly is Mr. Cordovez's mandate?

Shabbir Hussain

The U.N. Secretary General's Special Representative, Mr. Diego Cordovez, has during his four-day stay in Pakistan made a number of observations, some formal and some informal, in which he has sought to clarify certain things. But in the very course of these clarifications a good deal of confusion, has been created.

He probably did the right thing by stating his position—or non-position—on the much-trumpeted and sought-for interim government in Afghanistan as a prelude to the safe return of refugees and evolution of a stable and all-embracing administration in that war-torn country. When correspondents asked him how did he view such a possibility, his answer was crisp and forthright, "I was not appointed a mediator. I am supposed to promote and I am not supposed to give formula, specific suggestions, and about how and who should be in the government", was what he said.

In the same talk with the correspondents he said that if the Mujahideen wanted to meet with him he would meet them, adding, "I don't ask anybody to come to me. If they ask me to meet I will meet".

## IMPRESSION NEGATED

These observations made it clear that the impression which Cordovez had made or was created in Pakistan at the time of signing of the Geneva Accord, and even afterwards, that the question of interim government was very much alive and all that was being done was to tackle it outside the Geneva Accord to avoid delay in the withdrawal of Soviet forces is negated by Mr. Cordovez. Was it misreading of what had been decided or suggested at Geneva? Has the 'unofficial' mandate if ever it was conceived been changed? Nobody can guess.

Another thing reflected in Mr. Cordovez's statements was the actual purpose of his visit to the area: it is to assess how far the Geneva Accord was being implemented by the various signatories. He would be grateful to Mr. Cordovez to make these things clear to enable each one in this part of the world to understand what really is the situation. But these 'revelations' of his have given birth to new confusions. For example, his reaction to a correspondent's reference to Prince Sadruddin's statement about the existence of landmines in Afghanistan was not a happy one. "I don't know from where he got the figure", he said, and then after consulting a member of his staff he

mentioned the figure of 2,000 instead of 3,000 to 4,500 given by Prince Sadruddin's spokesman. Actual figures may be even higher because it is the Mujahideen who encounter these mines when they push forward into the area being vacated by the Soviets.

What is more confusing, even intriguing, is his plea, even a sort of warning, to the Mujahideen and the Afghan refugees that they should avail of the historic opportunity and "use and rely on their traditions to solve the remaining problem politically". What he means is holding a jirga to decide the question of the future government in Afghanistan. But who would make arrangements for this jirga and in what way has not been spelled out by Mr. Cordovez. Probably, he favours administrative status quo in Kabul, the one host in Afghanistan by an invading superpower which during its eight years operations did everything to eliminate resistance but failed and was eventually forced to withdraw.

## ELECTION OF JIRGA

It was not for putting one faction in power, Najib or Mujahideen, that Pakistan had mooted the idea of an interim administration acceptable to all factions and sections of Afghan people; the purpose was exactly what Mr. Cordovez has suggested, to allow the institution of an impartial and all representative jirga. Mr. Cordovez either is not fully aware of the Afghan traditions or finds himself helpless in enforcing what he would actually wish. How would be ensure the participation of millions of Afghan refugees in the election of jirga if they are not allowed to return to Afghanistan, if necessary conditions are not created for their return, if landmines are not removed and outside help to Najib is not stopped?

His understanding from his meetings with Soviet officials, as he has stated in a detailed interview to an Islamabad daily, was that Moscow's principal concern was for a stable government in Afghanistan that would be non-aligned and independent, and which would not be the cause of instability for any of its neighbours in the region.

Mr. Cordovez has gone further in this interview to exonerate the Russians by saying that the "Soviets had stressed that the issue of a future government was for the Afghan people to decide". The Soviets, he said, had taken the view that only the Afghans should determine their future. If the Soviets really held this view they should have stopped supply of arms and ammunition to Najib government which they knew is the type which had been resisted, along with the Russians themselves, for full one decade; they should have agreed on a negative symmetry with the other superpower. What actually Moscow wants is to perpetuate its henchmen and the system they signify so as to make Afghanistan their permanent satellite.

Afghanistan for Afghans is also the slogan which has been raised by Mr. Cordovez during his stay in Islamabad. But in spite of the slogan being highly captivating, nobody knows how to work out the details under which this concept can take a concrete shape. What fear Russia will have from Afghanistan whatever its system or administration? What do they mean by "the cause of instability for any of its neighbours in the region"? It is Pakistan and Iran which can be adversely affected one way or the other by conditions and government in Afghanistan and not Russia; if it is these two countries which have been under a tremendous pressure on account of what Russia has been doing in Afghanistan for the last one decade. And it is these two countries which sincerely want a stable, fully independent and really non-aligned Afghanistan. They have all along been aware of the basic reality of Afghanistan being "heart of Asia" and of the fact that if Afghanistan remained disturbed, they too would not remain in peace.

Mr. Cordovez had been under a tremendous strain during the past six years but he did a marvellous job because of his courage and awareness of the implications if he failed. He should show the same courage, and should not misuse the will of the Mujahideen and the suffering of the refugees. They constitute two most important segments of the Afghan population, and though they were ignored during six years of Geneva parleys, it is no longer possible to overlook their views and potential.

It was certainly a mistake not to associate these sections with the Geneva parleys; it was also a mistake not to consult the refugees. Again it was a serious lapse not to evolve framework of an impartial and all-representative administration which could have effected instant stoppage of bloodshed in Afghanistan. That phase is now over; what is now needed is not to repeat the old mistakes, keep both superpowers out of Afghanistan, and let Mr. Cordovez arrange a negotiated settlement between various factions.

Mr. Cordovez's reference to Afghan traditional method is out of tune. The seven-party alliance of Afghan Mujahideen has already announced its commitment to a multi-party democratic system; kings or foreign installed leaders are no longer acceptable to the Afghans after all the blood they have shed and the sufferings they have undergone. Only by viewing things in proper perspective can we end bloodshed in Afghanistan.

July 5, 1988

PT

## The peace bird

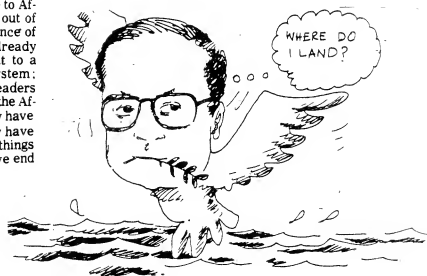
Prof. Abdur Rab Rasul Sayyaf, the chief of the *Ittehad-ul-Islami*, has accused the UN Under-Secretary-General, Mr. Diego Cordovez, of engagement in open hostility towards the aims and goals of Mujahideen struggle in a lengthy statement. The Afghan guerrilla leader said Mr. Cordovez was instigated by the enemy forces. Mr. Sayyaf further charged that the latest proposal of the UN mediator regarding national government of peace and reconstruction in Afghanistan was in fact a new chain of conspiracies hatched to subjugate the Muslim people before the communists. He called the proposal 'one-sided', 'anti-Islam', 'anti-Jehad' and 'anti-Afghan'. He also scolded those who were helping Cordovez in his mission which 'aims at removing the Mujahideen from the scene and create obstacles in the establishment of Mujahideen's government in Afghanistan'.

The statement in effect is a reaction to the Geneva Accord. Otherwise the latest proposal of a national government of peace and reconstruction established after some traditional jirga is not that controversial. Perhaps there is a need to tell the Mujahideen that this reconstruction has nothing to do with *perestroika*.

It is food for thought for Hotel Shenzhrade! What does Zain Noorani or his successor Yaqub Khan says about this latest fatwa. Does the Geneva Accord aim at removing Mujahideen from the scene? If no, then why such statements? If yes, then who are these guests kept on humanitarian grounds to dictate to us?

The United Nations despite its weaknesses is still the last hope of survival in this world laden with conflicts and arms and munitions of mass destruction. It is the selfless and relentless effort of the UN negotiator that made the signing of the Geneva Accord possible. The harshly worded statement of the Mujahideen leader must be regretted if not condemned. Especially when two of his allies in the IUAM, Pir Gillani and Sibghatullah Mujaddidi have openly supported the UN envoy's proposal.

The Muslim 7/22



# Carry On Up the Khyber!

**H**ordes of eager western journalists flooded Peshawar after May 15 to follow the war in Afghanistan and cover the withdrawal of Soviet troops. In fact, the city played host to so many reporters that for a time it seemed as if the Russians were withdrawing from Peshawar rather than Afghanistan.

Japanese TV cameramen carrying tripods bigger than themselves, speaking little English and expecting to catch the odd mujahideen chasing a Russian tank out of Peshawar, were early arrivals. They booked blocks of rooms at the Pearl Continental hotel, which almost collapsed under their weight. With just a single external line for the entire hotel, other journalists found that calls to Tokyo were so frequent that telephones remained blocked for hours.

The American and British journalists took over the American Club in Peshawar, which did a roaring business in beefburgers and french fries. American reporters from obscure newspapers that nobody knew even existed were discovering Peshawar for the first time. For these first-timers, trying to come to grips with the complexities of Afghan politics seemed to be a totally draining experience. Those with decent expense accounts could afford the charges at the Pearl, while freelancers had to make do with Green's or Deans hotels, which were also heavily booked. Peshawar was also a grand meeting place for old Afghan hands. Their

doyen is Edward Giradet, the correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*, who has been into Afghanistan countless times and has written a good book on the war. With his huge, warm smile and tousled hair, Giradet knows the politics of the war backwards and is a personal friend of many mujahideen commanders. He is consulted by other journalists as much as he consults the mujahideen.

The visiting TV crews found it difficult to compete with cameraman Peter Jouvenal, who has lived in Peshawar and covered the war for years for British and American TV stations. An ex-British paratrooper, he has been into Afghanistan over 40 times. Most of the film clips of the war shown on Pakistan TV have been shot by Jouvenal.

However, it was the newcomers who made the early blunders. A reporter for the French news agency AFP (which should know better, because their correspondent in Islamabad is an experienced Afghan hand) went to the border and wired back a gripping "I was there!" headlined story about how the mujahideen had captured the "important" Afghan army post of Teri Mangal. "The only problem is that Teri Mangal is inside Pakistan and it's a

well-known village because it has been frequently bombed by Afghan jets. Pakistan has let the guerrillas use the village as a staging area for transporting arms supplies inside Afghanistan. However, even more startling was the fact that the AFP report was carried on the front pages of most Pakistani newspapers the next day! Clearly, our own news editors know little about Pakistani geography and even less about the Afghan war.

The *New York Times*, in its orilliance, managed to report a story about the importance of the mujahideen capture of Barikot — when Barikot had been abandoned by the Afghan army a month earlier.

One problem for the foreign correspondents in Peshawar around May 15 was that there was so little news. To make up for that, Gulbaddin Hikmatyar, the spokesman of the mujahideen alliance at the time, held a series of press conferences where he managed to say something controversial everyday to keep the news pot bubbling. The only problem was that he also managed to frequently contradict what he had said the day before. Hikmatyar's press conferences are now organised with the sophistication of a national election campaign and he now parries reporters with replies in English.

More intrepid reporters, bored with the repetitiveness of Peshawar politics, made a short hike into Afghanistan. Two women, the *Financial Times* Christina Lambert, who is now based in Peshawar and Georgina Higuier, reporting for Spain's *El Pais* went in with the guerrillas. The Afghan guerrillas comments were not recorded. The *London Times* reporter Edward Gorman, who is also based in Peshawar now, has an odd habit of getting up in the middle of the night and charging off into Afghanistan.

The Pakistan government, embarrassed at having over 100 foreign journalists in Peshawar with nothing to report on, organised a tourist trip to the Khyber Pass. The Japanese fell over each other to get onto the coach. However, the American consulate really ran the show, importing US diplomats based in Kabul, who briefed western reporters on how quickly Kabul would fall. The proverbial Afghan hospitality and easiness with the press corps was better than anything the Pakistani Press Information Department could organise.

Pakistani newspapers demonstrated their usual lack of interest by ignoring the whole thing. Reports from Peshawar in the local press were poor and no special reporters were sent up for the event. Only the *Muslim's* Rahimullah Yusufzai made the effort of going up to the border after May 15 and counting the hundreds of truckloads of arms that were still pouring across into Afghanistan, despite the fact that the Geneva accord had now come into effect.

Some western reporters stayed on after May 15, lured by mujahideen statements that there could be an imminent attack on Kabul. However, the mujahideen are still finding it difficult to launch any serious offensive against a major Afghan city, despite pressure from Pakistan and the US to do so.

After the signing of the Geneva accord in April, Afghan mujahideen and US officials predicted a prompt attack against Kabul. By the end of May, that target was downgraded to Jalalabad, Afghanistan's second largest city, from where Soviet troops first began their withdrawal. The strengthening of Jalalabad's defences with some 7000 Afghan troops, and acute differences among the seven mujahideen parties have now forced the mujahideen to abandon that plan. They then decided to target Khost, a small and insignificant garrison close to the Pakistan border, which they failed to capture after a two-month offensive last winter.

Western diplomats, Pakistani officials and mujahideen leaders say that despite the presence of some 5000 mujahideen around Khost, field commanders are reluctant to attack it. Jalaluddin Haqqani, the overall commander of the Khost region, is unwilling to bombard the city where many of his fellow tribesmen live. Acute tensions between the Hizbe Islami party, favoured by the US and Pakistan, and the other parties are making it impossible for the commanders to unite.

A reflection of the present confusion was a three-cornered fight that broke out between local tribesmen, commanders and party representatives over the sharing of a large cache of Soviet weapons at the garrison of Alikhel, which was abandoned by Afghan troops. Such disputes are multiplying, with serious repercussions on already fragmented mujahideen unity. Plans to set up a provisional guerrilla government inside Afghanistan after capturing a major city, have been put back indefinitely.

Engineer Ahmad Shah, who heads this provisional government, is still in Peshawar, as are all the mujahideen leaders, despite promises that they would all start setting up their headquarters in Afghanistan the moment the Geneva accord was signed.

Although the mujahideen already control the suburbs of the southern city of Qandahar and the western city

of Herat, field commanders are also reluctant to launch direct attacks on these cities because of the enormous loss of life that artillery bombardment will inflict. Field commanders prefer to sit it out until morale collapses in these cities, and the wisdom of that policy is already bearing fruit, as some Afghan troops have already deserted to the mujahideen. Some 50 Afghan army posts and small garrisons along the border with Afghanistan have either been abandoned by the Afghan army or been captured by the mujahideen. However, Afghan leaders reveal that they are under pressure from Pakistan and the US to capture a city, using the "massive" quantities of weapons, including Chinese 120 mm rockets with a range of 20 kilometers, that are still being supplied to the mujahideen.

Moderate Afghan leaders hope that Pakistan's support for the fundamentalist parties will change with the reappointment as foreign minister of Saubzada Yaouub Khan, who could temper President Zia's desire for a swift mujahideen to push for Kabul.

Islamabad is also under other pressures. The political upheaval in Pakistan after President Zia sacked the Junejo government, has "opened up a new domestic front when the government already has an Afghan front to contend with," as an official in Islamabad put it. The tone of Soviet statements accusing Pakistan of violating the Geneva accord has also become much harsher, causing concern in Islamabad. The Indian Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Nawar Singh, gave a belligerent interview to an Indian magazine in which he accused Islamabad of trying to turn Afghanistan into "Pakistan's private property." Rajiv Gandhi followed that up at the United Nations, saying that India would not tolerate a fundamentalist government in Kabul.

Problems among the mujahideen do not mean that Afghan President Najibullah automatically benefits from them. He is also beset with internal party problems and an inability to broaden the base of his regime. Kabul's policy of abandoning areas to local commanders in the hope of persuading refugees to return and striking a deal with commanders, is still a total failure. The present stalemate in Afghanistan, with neither side able to claim victory and the war continuing, makes peace seem even further away.

By Ahmed Rashid



# Attacks turn Kabul into a city of fear



From **BARRIE PENROSE** in Kabul

A NEW and brutal phase of the Afghan war has turned Kabul into a city of fear where the population lives under the threat of daily rocket attacks as the Mujahedeen rebels tighten a noose around the capital.

Inaccurate rocket fire that misses its military targets is killing civilians and straining to breaking point the nerves of the city's inhabitants.

Rockets fired from hills 24 to 40 kilometres from Kabul regularly fall around a residential area in northern Kabul, close to a Russian base, bringing death and hideous injuries. Last Tuesday, a rocket landed in the middle of a busy square, called Sra Mena, killing 15 people.

The Mujahedeen were almost certainly aiming at the Russian base on the capital's main military airfield, which they have hit many times before. But the guerrillas are poor shots largely because they fire their missiles from a great distance away, knowing that their positions can be electronically pin-pointed within seconds.

Some residents are in no doubt that the rocket at Sra Mena, like countless others which have fallen in recent months, was the handiwork of men under the control of Abdul Haq, the Mujahedeen's commander of the Kabul area.

The guerrillas have warned of the danger through leaflets known as "night letters". "One leaflet told us to move elsewhere," said an English-speaking government clerk. "How could we leave Sra Mena? Where could we go when Kabul is already overcrowded?"

Many local people, though, refuse to believe the Mujahedeen are responsible for the attacks; they think the Russians are behind such atrocities.

"The Soviets do it," claimed the old man who runs the glassware store at Sra Mena. "They are punishing Afghans for not supporting them against the Mujahedeen. But it is also a trick to make us believe it is the

UNITED States officials have said privately they were concerned that the Soviet Union would not meet an August 15 deadline for removing half of its troops from Afghanistan, the *Washington Post* claimed yesterday.

Without naming the officials, the newspaper acknowledged what they called conflicting reports about a possible reintroduction of Soviet troops into Afghanistan.

In the same issue, the newspaper quoted a senior Soviet official as saying that Moscow would consider prolonging the withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan if Pakistan did not cut all military aid to rebel forces.

Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovsky said the Soviet pull-out was proceeding on schedule and that 23,000 troops have already left.

"extremists" in the hills who send them."

The belief that the Russians fire rockets into civilian areas as part of a black propaganda campaign is supported by some foreign aid workers. A British medical specialist said he had regularly seen missiles being fired from inside the Soviet Union's Embassy compound in Kabul. He said other Westerners had seen rockets being fired at night. Nobody in his party challenged this.

Flares fired as decoys to protect Russian and Afghan aircraft against possible attack from Stinger missiles are also causing problems. On several occasions recently they have started explosions and fires, some serious.

According to government officials, 167 rockets have struck Kabul in the past three months. In the same period the rebels have also laid 60 land-mines and set off 30 other explosions, mostly car bombs, putting further pressure on the beleaguered regime of President Najibullah.

Earlier this month, a lorry packed with explosives went off in the Murad Khani meat market, near the presidential palace. Six men were killed and 20 wounded.

Kabul is dominated by weariness of the bloody civil war which has lasted a decade.

Nonetheless, thousands are seeking the relative security of the city as Russian troops trickle out and the regime loses its grip in key areas of the country. Kabul's population has now swelled to almost two million.

Few expect the Kabul regime to survive in the long term by relying on its feeble armed forces.

General Najibullah, meanwhile, is pursuing his "policy of national reconciliation" which observers regard as a compromise based on his weakening political position.

But the Mujahedeen have pledged to fight against any communist presence in Afghanistan, whether Russian or Afghan and, as they have effectively scaled off Kabul, they can afford to wait.

**SOUTH CHINA**

**MORNING POST**

**JULY 25, 1988**

## Afghan Accord May Boost Heroin Trade

By **MARK FINEMAN**, *Times Staff*

PESHAWAR, Pakistan—The withdrawal of Soviet troops from war-torn Afghanistan is likely to produce an explosion in the production of heroin earmarked for the United States, according to narcotics experts, diplomats and government officials in Pakistan.

The border region of Pakistan and Afghanistan, which together with Iran forms what is known as the Golden Crescent, already supplies half of the heroin consumed in the United States. Officials here say that after the Soviets complete the withdrawal of their estimated 115,000 troops at the end of this year or early next, the U.S. market may be glutted with heroin.

"I see a horror story coming out of Afghanistan after the Soviet pullout," said one official who has been watching the Southwest Asian heroin pipeline since it was opened in 1980.

The concern focuses on the 3 million Afghan refugees who have been living in camps along the border in Pakistan since the Soviet troops moved into Afghanistan in late 1979.

## Children die of heat stroke in refugee camps

TENS of refugee children and elderly persons died during June because of heat stroke and lack of drinking water.

Since June doctors have recorded eight cases of death in Shamshato, six in Akora Khatak and four in Munda camps. The victims are mainly children.

**AFGHANews**

**July 15, 1988**

**Temptation for Refugees**

"As these refugees go back, they'll be desperate," the official said. "They will have no capital to start businesses. Their country has been destroyed by war, and there's going to be a great temptation to make money fast. Unfortunately, that means opium and heroin."

"We already have reports of one group of refugees going back to a village in Nangarhar province (in eastern Afghanistan), and ... their current crop is 60% wheat, 40% opium." ...

According to Pakistani opposition leaders, a \$2-billion covert CIA operation that provided arms for the Afghan resistance also fueled the drug trade. They say that by opening weapon supply routes into Afghanistan, Zia and the CIA have also opened routes for drugs coming out.

Zia and U.S. officials insist that the Afghan resistance fighters, who are fervently Islamic, are not major drug dealers, that many of the commanders forbid drug use as a violation of Islamic law and that they use their troops to fight drugs.

"There has never been any real proof of mujahedeen trafficking in drugs," a diplomatic observer in Islamabad said. "And while we are very concerned about a great increase in opium growing and heroin processing after the [Soviet] pullout, the mujahedeen themselves may be our saving grace. The basic problem in this region is that as long as there's a lack of government control, you'll have a lot of opium. And, yes, that is a very serious concern."

**Los Angeles Times**

# Moscow offers amnesty to its Afghan war deserters

THE STRAITS TIMES, WEDNESDAY, JULY 6, 1988



MOSCOW — The Soviet Union has offered an amnesty to soldiers who deserted or otherwise turned against their country during the Soviet army's 8½-year intervention in Afghanistan.

"Those who could not resist hostile propaganda, who failed to withstand sufferings and privations of captivity and committed offences damaging our state, all of them will be amnestied out of supreme considerations of socialist humanism," the country's chief legal officer said on Monday.

Asked if the amnesty included deserters, Soviet Prosecutor General Alexander Sukharev said they would be included with those who suffered because of the "extreme conditions" of the war in Af-

ghanistan.

But it was not immediately clear if the amnesty was unconditional, or whether there would be a review procedure.

Soviet soldiers entered Afghanistan in December 1979, replaced one pro-Soviet government with another and remained in the country to help fight anti-Marxist insurgents.

The Soviet military said in late May that more than 13,000 soldiers had been killed in Afghanistan and more than 35,000 wounded.

Mr Sukharev said the Soviet Union had identified 32 soldiers who had been taken prisoner during the war, and had established that about a third of them had died, many of them while trying to escape.

"Some of them were shot on the spot, some of

them were tortured to death," he said.

Those who remain captive "are subject to torture. They are manacled, they are under psychological pressure, including scant food supplies," he said.

Most of the 200 are on Pakistani territory in the hands of Afghan guerrilla groups, but an undetermined number are in the United States, Canada and Western Europe, the prosecutor general said.

He said he did not know how many soldiers could be classified as deserters.

Mr Sukharev said in offering the amnesty, the President of the Soviet Union, the country's highest executive body, wanted to refute what he said were rumours in the West that prisoners-of-war and

deserters would face severe punishment if they turned to the Soviet Union.

The president has already pardoned one soldier who was punished for desertion, he said.

The legal official said his country was "using all channels to obtain the release of our soldiers and bring them back home."

He appealed to the US, Pakistan and other countries to help Soviet soldiers who are on their territories to return home.

In accordance with an United Nations-mediated agreement signed in Geneva on April 14, the Soviet Union began pulling its 100,000 soldiers out of Afghanistan on May 15, and units still there awaiting withdrawal are not taking part in offensive operations. — AP.

## Los Angeles Times

The amnesty brought one former POW home from Canada immediately, expressing hopes that others would follow.

Nikolai Golovin, 25, was working as a meatpacker in Kitchener, Ontario, last month when he read the Soviet government's amnesty offer in a local newspaper and decided that it meant that he would not be prosecuted for his collaboration with the *mujahideen*. Following his capture in 1982, he had denounced the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in press conferences and interviews.

Homeless after more than eight years away from the small village of Ekaterinovka in the Ulyanovsk region, on the Volga, where he had grown up, Golovin telephoned the Soviet consulate to confirm the details of the amnesty. He was on an airplane for Moscow the next day and home by the following day.

"Is that you, Tolya?" his mother Alexandra asked, not recognizing him in jeans and long hair and finding that he spoke Russian with an almost foreign accent.

"Yes, it's me, Mama," he answered, persuading her that he was finally home after years of wandering from Afghanistan to Pakistan to Canada. "I've come home."

August 13, 1988

## The New York Times

By ROBERT KEAR  
Special to The New York Times

Events in Afghanistan are subject to different interpretations. The State Department has consistently endorsed the view most favorable to the guerrillas. Zalmay Khalilzad, a member of the policy planning staff at the State Department who specializes in Afghanistan, said, "The recent events confirm what we have been saying. As Soviet troops withdraw, the balance of power will shift in favor of the resistance and the prospects for survival of the Kabul regime become dimmer with time."

If the Kabul Government could not consolidate its control of Afghanistan with the help of more than 115,000 Soviet troops, it cannot do so without such troops, Mr. Khalilzad said. Mr. Khalilzad is a naturalized American citizen who was born in Afghanistan.

He and other State Department officials said their assessments were based on intelligence reports from the region. They said there was an element of what they called "psychological warfare" in such assessments.

The Soviet Government and President Najibullah of Afghanistan have projected an image of self-confidence, asserting that the Soviet Government could survive after the Soviet withdrawal. The State Department has taken the opposite position, maintaining that the Kabul Government is crumbling and will have to give up some power to the guerrillas by the time Soviet troops leave next year.

JUNE 28, 1988

# Afghan Guerrilla Campaign Sputters

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN  
Special to The New York Times

NEW DELHI, July 12 — Soviet and Afghan attacks on positions captured by Afghan insurgents have recently stalled and in some areas reversed the guerrilla campaign to topple the Kabul Government, Western diplomats said today.

The diplomats said that in Kandahar, the second largest city in Afghanistan, a guerrilla force had recently retreated from a key area of the city at the request of local civilians who feared that they would be bombed or fired upon if the guerrillas remained.

Kandahar has been an important target for the American-backed guerrillas known as *mujahideen*, or holy warriors, and last month there was talk in Pakistan that they would soon capture the city.

The latest view of some Western diplomats in Kabul, however, is that the guerrilla forces are "holding back from attempts to seize the city because of regime threats to bomb and shell the city if it falls to *mujahideen* control," according to a report reaching here this morning.

## City Falls at Least Twice

The diplomats also said that Maidan Shahr, a provincial capital near Kabul that was taken by the guerrillas last month in a battle viewed by the United States as an important breakthrough, was recaptured by Soviet and Afghan forces a day later. Some reports in the last week, however, say the city has been recaptured by the guerrillas.

A diplomat said that after the Afghan guerrillas retreated from Maidan Shahr, the capital of Wardak Province, Soviet and Afghan forces ordered the area bombed "to make the point that any city or town which falls to the *mujahideen* invites reprisal raids."

The level of fighting was also said to be high in the last week in and near Kabul, with the guerrillas capturing two district towns, Mohammed Agha and Baraki Barak, although there was some question whether Mohammed



The New York Times, July 13, 1988

A guerrilla force has reportedly retreated in a key Kandahar area.

Agha was held for long. Guerrilla forces also attacked Kabul with rockets and bombs that inflicted civilian casualties in some cases.

Some diplomats say they believe that attacks on civilians, while reminding the city of rebel strength, are costing the Afghan insurgents civilian support. The Kabul television and radio have given wide coverage to these attacks, branding them as terrorism against an innocent population, while playing down attacks on military targets.

## Contradictory Reports

Under the Geneva agreements signed in April, Moscow has pledged to withdraw half its 100,000 troops by mid-August and the rest by mid-February. Many military analysts say they believe that the battle for Afghanistan will begin in earnest only after most of the Soviet troops are gone.

In any case, information about the fighting has long been extremely contradictory and subject to varying interpretations. Spokesmen for the seven major guerrilla groups based in Pakistan are often said to exaggerate their claims of success and minimize their setbacks, and reports of gains from the

Soviet-backed Government in Kabul are also considered suspect.

Seesaw battles have also been a constant feature of Afghan fighting, with indications that some successes have repeatedly changed hands.

There are also frequent battles between rival guerrilla groups, with each side claiming that the other is in alliance with the enemy. The loyalties of some local commanders have in fact swung back and forth between the Government and the rebel alliance.

Military analysts say, however, that with the Soviet troop pullout, which began on May 15, the nature of the war has changed.

For the last nine years, they point out, the guerrillas have specialized in hit-and-run tactics and have been able to move freely through most of the countryside. But now their goal is seen to have changed to that of a conventional drive to capture territory and population centers and hold on to them.

Analysis of the war's progress has been clouded further by what a senior American official said recently had been a deliberate attempt last May to spread "disinformation" about the intentions of the guerrillas. He said some United States officials had taken part in this practice as part of a game of "psychological warfare."

Two months ago, for example, American diplomats monitoring the Afghan situation said that as the Soviet troops withdrew, the guerrillas would make a major push to capture the cities of Ghazni, Gardez, Kandahar and Jalalabad and that the Soviet could easily fall by the end of June.

Now that none of these Government strongholds have fallen, some Americans are saying the guerrillas never intended to take these cities but only wanted to fool Soviet and Afghan commanders. The latest reports suggest rather that the insurgents are holding back to avoid losses or reprisals.

NYT 7/13

## Don't shoot, they're going

**A**FTER fighting for seven years to drive the Soviet occupying army out of their country, the Afghan guerrillas cannot decide, now that it is leaving, whether to let it go quietly or harry it to the last. Now one resistance leader, Mr Barhannuddin Rabbani, has urged the guerrillas to refrain from attacks which, he argues, might make the Russians slow down their withdrawal.

This is a more controversial suggestion than it sounds. The guerrilla leadership had always said that it would allow the Russians an easy exit only if they talked to it about handing over power. The Russians would not; so the United Nations-sponsored agreement on their withdrawal was concluded be-

## The Economist

tween the Soviet-backed regime in Kabul and Pakistan. The guerrillas were angry at being excluded from the deal. They were even angrier at the improbable implication that the Soviet decision to quit was not caused by guerrilla arms. Harassing the departing Russians might help disprove this.

One of the best known field commanders, Mr Ahmad Shah Massoud, apparently decided to do the same thing soon after the withdrawal began in May. He seems to have agreed that, if both the Soviet forces and the Kabul government's soldiers withdrew completely from the Panjshir valley, where he is based, he would not attack the departing troops. In 1983 he had made a somewhat similar one-year deal. This time, Mr

Massoud had a strong hand because the area he controls adjoins the Russians' main withdrawal route, the road running north from Kabul by way of the Salang tunnel. Yet it must have been particularly painful for the Soviet and Kabul commanders to surrender the valley; their forces' failure to capture the whole of it in fierce fighting in 1984 had made it a prized symbol of the resistance.

THE ECONOMIST AUGUST 6 1988

## Fighters to the fore

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN PESHAWAR

**E**XASPERATED by the politicians, the Afghan guerrillas are asserting themselves. The field commanders, supposedly subordinate to the various party chiefs safely based across the border in Pakistan, are beginning to rebel against some of the decisions of their civilian bosses and to take on more political responsibilities themselves. This may sway the balance of power among the Afghans after the Russians have left.

The commanders' first public challenge to the politicians came in late May, when the spokesman for the seven-party alliance, Mr Gulbuddin Heckmatyar, called for an assault on the eastern city of Jalalabad. The Russians had just evacuated it, and he wanted a victory over the Afghan government's troops to prove their weakness. The Pakistanis and the Americans backed him, but the commanders were opposed. The leading opponent, Mr Abdul Haq, who made his name as a fighter by blowing up power pylons around Kabul, says that an assault would have required a heavy bombardment. This would have caused civilian casualties on a scale that the resistance, which depends on local support, could not afford. Even if the guerrillas could have taken Jalalabad, they were not sure they could hold it against bombing from the air. The commanders won the argument.

Even on purely political matters, the civilian leaders have been losing credibility. They shot themselves in the foot last month by choosing a transitional government that entirely excluded the Shia minority, which makes up around 20% of Afghanistan's population. Many refugee leaders in Pakistan are irritated that *jihad* has given the politicians flashy cars and garden villas while tribal elders scrape a living digging canals. Plenty agree with Mr Ismail Khan's view: the men who have fought the war are those who deserve power.

THE ECONOMIST JULY 9 1988

## How much aid should the Afghans get?

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN PESHAWAR

**W**HETHER else benefits from aid for Afghan refugees returning home, the Pakistanis expect to do nicely. The provincial commissioner for Afghan refugees in Peshawar, Brigadier Fahimullah Khattak, draws a tactless comparison with the Gulf, where many Pakistanis have made fortunes. Afghanistan's reconstruction, he says, "will be another Dubai" for Pakistan. His glee will not help the United Nations collect the staggering \$1.2 billion it has asked for: the largest aid appeal the UN has ever launched for a single country.

Only \$40m has been raised so far, but the pledging conference, which will probably be held in September, may produce the rest. The UN raised the \$1.3 billion it requested in March 1985 to help African drought victims. The co-ordinator for Afghan aid, Prince Sadruddin Agha Khan, reckons he is asking for a reasonable sum: he maintains that the Russian occupation has deprived Afghanistan of around \$3 billion in international aid.

Some people who know Afghanistan better than Prince Sadruddin think he wants far too much. The dozen or so aid agencies in Peshawar, which have been sending aid across the border for the past five years, together spend around \$20m a year. Some of their staff say the Afghan economy simply cannot absorb so much money in the 18 months Prince Sadruddin has allowed for spending it. They wonder how he arrived at his figure. Consulted on the education budget, they estimated the number of qualified Afghan teachers, guessed how many families would allow their children to go to school, and suggested \$5m. It seems the UN office in Geneva raised the figure to \$25m, and headquarters in New York doubled that.

The real arguments will start when it

comes to handing out the cash. Prince Sadruddin says that relief work should not wait until the war is over, since the refugees may go back before then. But spending the money while the Afghan government and the guerrillas are still battling for power would involve the UN in some tricky politics.

Humanitarian aid helps the side that runs the area where it is spent. Aid programmes in the cities will help the Russian-backed Afghan government; those in the countryside will benefit whichever guerrilla group is locally powerful. The UN, which has offices in Kabul, can hardly deprive Russia's friends of their share. But the western and Islamic countries likely to contribute most of the aid would not be happy to see any of it go to the Kabul regime.

The sheer difficulty of distributing aid in contested territory may favour the cities and therefore the government. Much of the countryside is under the control of a flock of often competing guerrilla commanders. Peshawar's experienced aid workers know who is in charge where; they take care to obtain permission from local commanders before operating in their areas. The UN's less experienced officials may not be safe. At least one Peshawar-based aid group has refused to pass on its lore to the UN because it did not know how the information would be used.

The world's interest in Afghanistan will wane as the Russians leave, and the uncertainties of refugee aid will make the foreigners less inclined to be generous. The price may yet have trouble filling his begging-bowl.

THE ECONOMIST JULY 16 1988



# Foreigners fight communism

By Lai Kwok Kin

"I hate communism. I came to Afghanistan to kill Russians," said Andreas, a West German with shoulder-length brown hair and tattoos on his arms.

Andreas, 28, who would not reveal his full name, fought with Moslem rebels against Soviet forces inside Afghanistan for 30 months before laying down his rifle to help provide humanitarian aid to Afghans inside and outside their country. He is one of at least several dozen foreigners who have helped the Mujahideen guerrillas battle Soviet forces sent to Afghanistan in December 1979.

Europeans, Americans and Arabs, they came as adventurers, volunteers for the *jihad*, the Moslem Holy War, or simply because they hated communism.

Neither rebels nor volunteers could say exactly how many of these men have sneaked into landlocked Afghanistan to join the war, nor how many have died.

But guerrillas and volunteers living in the western Pakistan city of Quetta, bordering Afghanistan, think there could be up to a dozen of them still fighting despite the Soviet pullout.

Moscow started withdrawing its more than 100,000 troops in mid-May under a United Nations-mediated accord between Afghanistan and Pakistan. They are due to leave by February 1989 under an agreement guaranteed by Washington and Moscow.

Andreas, known to the Mujahideen by his Moslem name, "Ahmadjan," is now based in Quetta with a West German aid group providing medicine and medical equipment inside Afghanistan and in refugee camps in Pakistan.

He said he makes regular trips into Afghanistan to oversee the transport of supplies to three clinics and supervise staff there.

Born in East Berlin, Andreas was jailed at the age of 16 for trying to sneak over the Berlin Wall into West Germany. On release, he was arrested and jailed twice more, once for leading a demonstration.

He finally got out legally in 1982 and was given a West German passport. Two years later, he sold his television set, video recorder and furniture and left for Pakistan to make contact with the Mujahideen.

Andreas rose to second-in-command of a force operating near the southern Afghan city of Kandahar and says he believes he has helped kill between 20 and 25 Russians.

"That is one of the reasons I do not want to give my full name: the secret services of the Soviet Union, East Germany and



Michael Lindblat from Copenhagen swapped his camera for an AK-47 rifle.

Afghanistan are all after my blood," he said.

"I like the Mujahideen. I wanted to help a small country defeat a superpower. I did not want to see Afghanistan becoming another Soviet republic."

Andreas returned to West Germany last year and was asked by a humanitarian group to head its work inside Afghanistan.

Michael Lindblat, a 39-year-old from Copenhagen, originally entered Afghanistan to photograph the war for a book but ended up swapping his cameras for an AK-47 rifle.

Lindblat, interviewed before he left for Copenhagen, said he had fought alongside the Mujahideen for a total of six months over a two-year period.

"I had meant to go only to photograph

the war. But when I saw that they were not firing their artillery properly, I decided to join in," said Lindblat, who added that he served in the Danish army for seven years.

"It is also a kind of adventure for me. I always wanted to do something like this," said the bearded Dane, who was lured by a boyhood dream of fighting in a real war.

Lindblat, who has a 16-year-old son, became a Moslem in February while in Afghanistan. He said he was returning to Denmark and planned to see former Afghan King Zahir Shah, now living in exile in Rome, before deciding whether he would return to Afghanistan.

While fighting around Kandahar last February, he met two Americans from Chicago just entering Afghanistan in a truck laden with supplies to fight as volunteers.

Lindblat said he had met about half a dozen of these foreign fighters, including several Europeans, a Syrian and another Arab "who looked sick and ready to die."

A senior official of the guerrilla political alliance based in Pakistan said there were up to 70 Arab volunteers in Afghanistan at one time helping their "Moslem brothers."

An Afghan refugee in Quetta who has close contacts with some of these volunteers said there was also a Frenchman, a Vietnam veteran known to the Mujahideen as "Roshan," who came and fought for seven months before leaving quietly in late 1987, destination unknown.

The refugee quoted Roshan as saying before he entered Afghanistan: "Till I die, I will always fight communists."

HONGKONG STANDARD Sunday, July 10, 1988

## Afghan President's Brother Says Kabul Rulers Will Fall

By ROBERT PEAR  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 19 — The brother of the Afghan President said here today that the Soviet-backed Government in Kabul had little support from the Afghan people and would collapse soon after the last Soviet troops pulled out of the country.

The speaker, Sediquallah Rahi, denounced his brother, President Najibullah, as a sadist, a liar and "an obedient servant" of the Soviet Union who assiduously followed Soviet orders.

Mr. Rahi fled his homeland and entered Pakistan last month under the protection of an Afghan guerrilla group. He and his wife and their two children were given refugee status by the United States this week, and he

spoke to journalists today at the State Department.

"The current regime cannot last very long after the Soviet forces are all withdrawn," Mr. Rahi said. The Soviets have removed about half of their 115,000 troops from Afghanistan and say they will have the remainder out by Feb. 15, as required by the accord signed in Geneva in April.

Speaks Through Interpreter

Mr. Rahi, who is 37 years old, spoke in Dari, one of the main languages of Afghanistan, with an interpreter provided by the State Department. He said that most current leaders of Afghanistan "have nothing else in mind but to protect and preserve their own interests and do not care about the national interest" of Afghanistan. He predicted that Mr. Najibullah and some of his

"criminal co-workers" might go the Soviet Union or other Communist countries if the guerrillas took control.

He said Mr. Najibullah and two other brothers "work for the K.G.B." He predicted that the Soviets would do everything they could to save the regime in Kabul, perhaps even encouraging the rulers to form "a wide coalition with other forces in the country."

Mr. Rahi said the Government had hardly any support among the people of Afghanistan. "The only supporter of that infamous regime is the Soviet Union," he said. "The morale of the Afghan regime is very low. On the other side, the mujahedeen forces enjoy very high morale."

He did not answer directly when asked if the guerrillas were ready to govern Afghanistan. But he said their sense of unity was "flowering and blooming."

A State Department official said that Mr. Rahi was given only one name at birth, Sediquallah, just as his brother was given the name Najibullah. The younger brother later decided to use Rahi as a surname.

Mr. Rahi said he had defected by making contact with one Afghan guerrilla commander, Ahmed Shah Massoud, who controls most of the strategic Panjshir Valley, northeast of Kabul. Mr. Massoud is a member of Jamiat-Islami, the Islamic Society, which provided protection for Mr. Rahi and his family.

Before fleeing, Mr. Rahi worked at a bank in Kabul. His disagreements with his brother date at least to 1981. In that year, he said, he was kidnapped and drugged while working in Hamburg, West Germany. He said he was taken to East Germany, then to the Soviet Union and back to Afghanistan.

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

AUGUST 20, 1988

# Hands off Afghanistan

By Barnett R. Rubin

**A**T the most crucial moment of the conflict in Afghanistan, the US government has virtually abdicated the field to the Soviet Union and Pakistan. Both of these governments are busily at work strengthening their clients at the expense of a range of moderate forces in Afghanistan that enjoy broad political support and would also be more favorable to the United States.

The State Department justifies this hands-off attitude by saying we are "smart enough to know that we're too dumb" to try to affect the composition of Afghanistan's future government. This is cute, but disingenuous. By continuing to supply arms to the *mujahideen* under the agreement on "symmetry" with the USSR while allowing President Mohammed Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan a free hand in deciding how the arms are distributed, the US is already deeply involved.

As Soviet troops leave Afghanistan, power will also shift in Kabul. For now the Soviet government hopes to keep communist leader Najibullah or another representative of his party in power at the head of a "coalition" government. The Soviets know that Dr. Najibullah and his party are tarnished by their association with the Soviet invaders and the terroristic form of government they introduced. They are counting on two main forces to keep their allies in place: firm support from the Soviets, and the fear among the Kabul middle class of the most extreme elements in the resistance, symbolized by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, head of the Hezb-e-Islami (Islamic Party). Yet as I learned on a recent visit to Moscow, they know they may not succeed and are considering other options.

This antipathy to Mr. Hekmatyar and his party is shared by most other groups in the resistance, as any visit to the party headquarters in Peshawar, Pakistan, will attest. Yet his party is the clear favorite of President Zia and the Pakistani military intelligence establishment. They channel a disproportionate share of the US-supplied arms to him. Furthermore, by making adherence to the Afghan seven-party resistance alliance a condition for receiving aid, they in effect grant Hekmatyar a veto power over any political initiative by the resistance.

The result is frustration of attempts to form a genuinely representative coalition government in Afghanistan. United Nations Undersecretary-General Diego Cordovez has just returned from a visit to Afghanistan and Pakistan, in the course of which he proposed the replacement of the current Kabul regime by a caretaker government of neutral figures, to take office Sept. 1. The caretaker government would oversee refugee repatriation and relief

activities during the latter stages of the Soviet withdrawal. After all Soviet troops have gone, it would convene a *loya jirga*, the traditional gathering of all the tribes and ethnic groups of Afghanistan, to choose a new government. Few doubt that the result of such a process would be the virtual elimination of communist power from Afghanistan, as well as the weakening of groups dependent on Pakistani support.

Would the Afghan communists accept such a proposal? Certainly not, unless the Soviet government both pressed them severely and offered them asylum on Soviet territory. (In Moscow I heard discussions at several influential institutes not only about the possibility of such refuge, but about the numbers of people who would have to be accommodated.) Would the Soviets exert such pressure? They might, because a peaceful transition sponsored by the United Nations would make them look better than a chaotic disintegration or military defeat of their clients.

Unfortunately, we may not get a chance to find out what the Soviets would do, since the alliance of seven is so divided that it was unable even to decide whether to meet Mr. Cordovez. The alliance did not accept Hekmatyar's position to reject Cordovez's proposal, but as it operates by consensus, it could not accept the proposals of others who support Cordovez's efforts.

The current spokesman of the alliance, Pir Sayyed Ahmed Gailani, a moderate religious leader close to the former king who enjoys the support of much of the exiled intelligentsia, told the press he favored meeting with Cordovez. Another moderate leader, Sibghatullah Mojaddidi, stated that he supported the UN proposal. Some of the so-called "fundamentalists," who are far from homogeneous, also favor the initiative.

Yet the US by its non-action is hindering effective action by these groups. The US cannot and should not try to impose a particular form of government on Afghanistan, but can take measures to ensure that the Afghans have a greater range of choice. Giving public and vocal support for Cordovez's initiative is essential, and the USSR should be challenged to do likewise. All resistance groups should be assured that, as long as the US gives aid, the US will not be conditioned on conformity to a unanimous political position or membership in an alliance with Hekmatyar. And the US should pressure Pakistan to grant the request of the exiled former king for a visa, so that he can speak directly to the Afghan refugees.

The alternative is the prolongation of a polarized, militarized conflict.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

JULY 28, 1988

# U.S. Weighs Future Afghan Policy

By JIM MANN, Times Staff Writer

**WASHINGTON**—The Reagan Administration has begun to confront a new series of foreign policy questions about the future of Afghanistan after Soviet troops complete their withdrawal.

The central issue is to what extent the United States should become involved in shaping and supporting a new Afghan government if the current Soviet-backed Najibullah regime collapses in the way that U.S. officials expect.

For the moment, at least, the Administration seems inclined to keep its hands off, arguing that any U.S. effort to become involved in internal Afghan politics would fail.

Some U.S. officials argue that the only strategic interest the United States has in Afghanistan has been to prevent the Soviet military from occupying Afghan territory from which it can threaten the Persian Gulf.

"Once the Soviet [troops] are out, Afghanistan is zero-sum," says one State Department official.

Senate Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.) and Minority Leader Bob Dole (R-Kan.) recently sent a joint letter to Secretary of State George P. Shultz, urging him to appoint a special ambassador to the Afghan resistance. Such action would "send a needed" signal that the United States intends to remain active in Afghan affairs, they argued.

Shultz turned down their request, saying that he would instead appoint a new special assistant to the U.S. ambassador in Pakistan who will be assigned to deal with the resistance groups.

In Congress, Rep. Charles Wilson (D. Tex.) said he believes that the fears of a fundamentalist regime in Afghanistan are exaggerated and unrealistic.

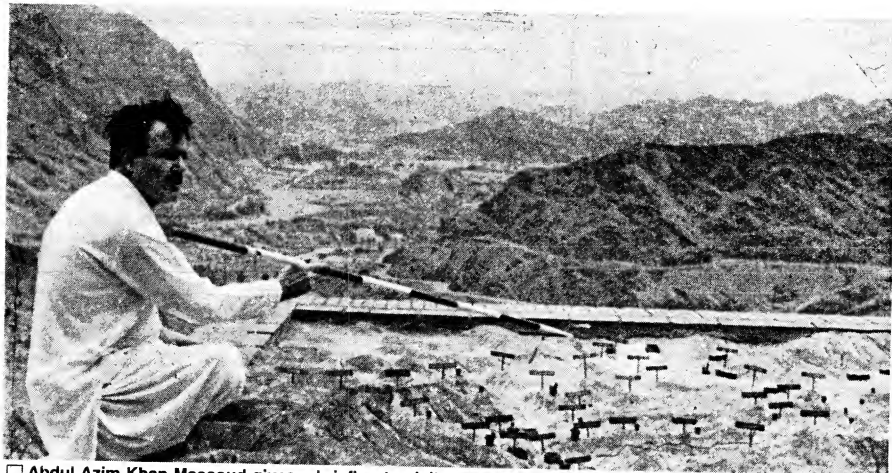
"You have to accept the possibility that it will be a fundamentalist regime. I'd say the chances are better than 50-50 that it will be. I don't think the United States should accept anything else," Wilson said. "A democracy is not in the cards, and I don't think we should expect that they [a future Afghan government] will apply for NATO membership."

Los Angeles Times

'We're smart enough to know we're too dumb to select the right leader for Afghanistan after the Russians leave.'

—A U.S. official

Los Angeles Times



□ Abdul Azim Khan Massoud gives a briefing to visitors to the Khyber Pass region using a large relief map.

## Pass to open when Soviets leave

By Lai Kwok Kin

**T**he Khyber Pass, corridor for Alexander the Great's invasion of India, waits for the guns of the Afghan War to fall silent before it reopens.

The main overland trade route between Afghanistan and Pakistan, through which countless armies have passed, has been closed since 1979 when the Soviet Union sent troops to Kabul to support the government.

Only native Pathan tribespeople have been allowed to cross the border through the pass. No visas are issued for nationals of either country, and tourists are prevented from trekking.

"When the Russians go back, the pass will automatically reopen," Abdul Azim Khan Massoud, assistant political agent of the Khyber Agency, said recently.

The Soviet Union will withdraw the last of its more than 100,000 troops by February under accords signed by Afghanistan and Pakistan and backed by Washington and Moscow to end the war between Afghan and Soviet troops and Western-backed Moslem guerrillas.

The agency is in charge of the Pakistani-controlled sector of the pass which winds 53 km (33 miles) across the dusty, arid hill range straddling the two countries.

Brown stone and plaster garrisons atop hillocks overlook the pass which hugs the craggy rock face and undulating terrain, deserted except for mud huts scattered everywhere and wild goats feeding on semi-desert scrub.

The pass reaches down from the hills into Torkham, three km (two miles) from Michni Point. The town is split into Afghan and Pakistani sectors by the Durand Line drawn up in 1893 by the British to demarcate the border.

The Persian ruler Darius I passed through it in the 5th century BC, followed

by Alexander the Great's generals two centuries later, although they turned back on reaching the Indus River.

Tartars, Mughals and Afghans marching into India crossed the strategic pass, but it cost British forces three wars against the fierce Pathans in the 19th and 20th centuries before they finally gained control.

Genghis Khan, Timur the Lame, Babur, Nadir Shah — the steep gorges rekindle in the mind's eye the East's famous conquerors armed with spears, swords and flintlocks doing battle on horseback.

Now, only trucks driven by Pathans, laden with Afghan fruits and the occasional Russian-made air-conditioner, rumble along the narrow asphalt road, to return with electronic goods from Pakistan.

Despite the brisk trade, signs of war abound. Troops from the 3,000-strong Khyber Rifles, in blue uniforms and bandoliers, guard the pass with AK-47s and Lee-Enfield rifles.

Political agent Mr Massoud pointed out three artillery shells which landed near this outpost last December. They now grace the visitors' viewing point as evidence that Soviet-backed Afghan troops have fired into Pakistan territory.

Nearby, anti-aircraft guns scan the skies for Soviet and Afghan planes which Mr Massoud said had crossed Pakistan airspace "thousands of times" in the last 8½ years.

Pakistan has accused the Kabul government of giving tribesmen money, guns and orders to shoot Moslem rebels who use border camps inside Pakistan to make raids into Afghanistan.

The pass itself is avoided by the Pakistan-backed Mujahideen fighters. They prefer less guarded points along the mountainous border.

But even if the guns of the Afghan War fall silent, peace is not likely to return entirely to the Khyber region.

Pathan tribesmen still settle land disputes and petty quarrels in the tradition set by their forefathers — with the gun. Tribesmen slinging rifles and ancient shotguns stroll through small towns and villages lined along the pass, a law unto themselves.

The region in the north-west frontier province is one of the most lawless in Pakistan. Tribal codes of conduct, such as an-eye-for-an-eye vengeance, govern the inhabitants more than laws set by the government.

HK Standard

7/ 22

— Reuter



Yurt Band : Tehe, Turkman.

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We'll enclose a gift card with the first issue notifying the donee of your thoughtfulness.

## THE BALANCE OF POWER WITHIN THE PDPA IN KABUL

This article is from the AICMB #88, July 1988.

Since the Geneva Accords were signed, the internal problems within the PDPA have increased. There are 6 factions within the Party: 1) Parcham, 2) Khalq, 3) KJA, 4) SAZA, 5) Groh-e-Kar (Workers Group), 6) A special group of Najib supporters.

Parcham is divided into supporters of Mir Akbar Khaiber (a PDPA intellectual who was opposed to Russian influence & was killed 3 days before the 1978 coup) & Sultan Ali Kehstmand, the former Prime Minister, & the supporters of Babrak Karmal (the former President who was replaced by Najib). Except for those who have joined the party since the coup, all of Parcham is pro-Karmal & anti-Najib.

Khalqis are divided into two groups: pro-Taraki & pro-Amin. Both now support Gulabzoi, the Interior Minister, who holds the balance of power between the Khalqis & Parchamis. The Khalqis now control the army (through Gen. Tanai) & the Tsarandoy (police) & militia (through Gulabzoi). Control of KHAD, the strongest weapon in party conflict, is still firmly in the hands of the Parchamis, and Najib in particular.

The problems created by the conflicts between the 6 groups on the one hand, & the problem between Ismat Muslim (the Kandahar militia commander)\* & Gulabzoi on the other, put Najib in a diggicult position. Najib can only trust WAD (Wazarat-e-Amniyat-e-Daulati, the Ministry of State Security, formerly KHAD), & the special guards unit that he created to protect higher ranking members of the regime.

Recently an 8-man delegation from the USSR came to Kabul to solve the problems between the different factions. The Khalqis proposed that either they or the Parchamis take on the sole responsibility of running the country. The delegation said that the other factions should continue under the leadership of Najib & the Parchamis. But because of the conflicts, the Soviets are unable to exert as much influence as they would wish.

At a plenum of the PDPA CC on 6/22/88, Keshtmand was elected a secretary of the CC (there are some others). A correspondent reports that the Soviets wanted to see Keshtmand, a Hazara Shia, as the general sec'y of the Party, replacing the Pashtun Najib, who would still hold the presidency. This was rejected by the Pushtuns in the PDPA, including Khalqis.

Parchami morale is low, with the Khalqis plotting to take power. In order to avoid a Khalqi coup & to maintain better security for himself, his staff & the future of the regime, Najib decided to create garrisons manned by PDPA members only. These troops are provided with very sophisticated weapons & enjoy larger salaries & other perks. These Party units are recruited by the KGB. There are 3 brigades of 6,000 men each. Some of these troops are trained for infiltration into the mujahideen. Khalqis refused to be recruited into these units & some resigned from the Party in order to avoid it.

A Parchami says that in the Defense Ministry's Political Affairs Dept., there are 115 Soviet political & KGB advisers & 60 KHAD agents for Kabul City. In the Ministry, most of the staff are handicapped army officers. Pay scales start at Afs. 12,000 & rise to Afs. 35,000 for a general.

The regime is giving 15 days military training to teachers & gov't employees. They will replace the Soviets in security posts around the city. The Afghan troops are to be moved into the frontline of Kabul.

\* See related item on p. 13.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

"Moral Unequivalence, Afghanistan is Not the Soviets' Vietnam" by Lee Brad-dock in POLICY REVIEW, published quarterly by the Heritage Foundation, Summer, 1988. Pp 42 - 51.

MOSCOW'S AFGHAN WAR. SOVIET MOTIVES & WESTERN INTERESTS, by Radek Sikorski, London: Alliance Publishers Ltd. for the Inst. for European Defense & Strategic Studies, 1987. 62 pp.

WAR IN AFGHANISTAN by Mark Urban, London: MacMillan Press Ltd. 1988. 248 pp.

AFGHANISTAN. SOZIALER WANDEL UND STAAT IM 20. JAHRHUNDERT by Jan-Heeren Grevemeyer, Berlin: Express Edition (Postfach 11 02 63, Ritterstr. 60b, 1000 Berlin 61, Germany). 1988. 600 pp. ISBN 3-88548-414-5. DM 88.-

THE AGRICULTURAL SURVEY OF AFGHANISTAN prepared by the Swedish Committee for Afghanistan, May, 1988. A summary of a 1987 agricultural survey among farmers in Afghanistan and refugee farmers in the camps in Pakistan. 68 pp.

GORBACHEV'S AFGHAN GAMBIT by Theodore Eliot, Jr., Nat'l Security Paper #9, Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Inc. (Central Plaza Bldg., 10th Fl., 675 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02139-3396). 1988 25 pp. \$5. ISBN 0-89549-087-0.

"Journey into Exile" by Patricia Smyke in REFUGEES, June 1988. Pp 21-22.

"Awaiting the Call" by Robert Suro in THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, 7/31/88.

Today, as the King of Afghanistan strolls around the empty swimming pool in his garden, the violent struggles of Kabul seem far away. "What I remember consistently are Afghanistan's plains, mountains and valleys," Mohammad Zahir Shah tells me. "What I miss most are my courageous countrymen." ■

AFGHAN UPDATE, edited by Paul Clark, has resumed publication. Issued by Andrew Eiva's Federation for American Afghan Action (P.O. Box 1876, Washington D.C. 20002), the weekly (?) green sheet urges Congress to support the mujahideen & continue sending weapons.

"Omega Jihad - Robert Brown Leads SOF A-Team into Afghanistan" by Mike Williams in SOLDIER OF FORTUNE, September 88. Pp 40 - 49, 83 - 85.

THE CHILDREN OF AFGHANISTAN IN WAR & REFUGEE CAMPS, edited by Vivi Lofstedt & Mike Powers, Swedish Committee for Afghanistan in cooperation with the Swedish Inst. of Int'l Affairs. Based on papers given at an Int'l Hearing held in Stockholm in April, 1987.

THE MARTYR'S MESSAGE, published by Harakat-i-Islami Afghanistan (G.P.O. Box 337, Peshawar, Pakistan), appeared in July, 1988, in English. The organization has been issuing Farsi publications for some time. Ayatollah Mohseni is prominent in all the publications. The group has also issued a number of posters.

RELIGION UND POLITIK BEI DEN SCHI'ITISCHEN HAZARA IN AFGHANISTAN, IRAN UND PAKISTAN by Rolf Bindemman. Berlin: Das Arabische Buch, 1988. Occasional Papers #7. 104 pp.

THE OTHER NOMADS, PERIPATETIC MINORITIES, IN CROSS-CULTURAL PERSPECTIVES, Aparna Rao, Ed., Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1987. 391 pp. Asta Olesen has a chapter on the Sheikh Mohammadi peripatetics of the Koh Daman, showing the changing life style & trade Patterns which this community has undergone over the past 30 years.

"Target: Pakistan" by Rowland Evans & Robert Novak in the READERS' DIGEST, July, 1988. Pp. 124-128.

The premiere issue (Spring 1988) of the semi-annual AFGHANISTAN STUDIES JOURNAL, published by the Center for Afghan Studies in Omaha, recently appeared. The 132-page issue contains articles by Azmat Khan, Denis Egan, Donald Wilber, Robert Nash, Sara Pirtle, Louis & Nancy Dupree (who also served as guest editors of the issue), George O'Bannon, Gorm Pedersen, John Lorentz & Grant Farr. The journal subscription is \$12/year from The Univ. of Nebraska at Omaha, Center for Afghanistan - 0006, P.O. Box 3588, Omaha, NE 68103-9960.

# ORGANIZATIONS

CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES was organized in 1943 & operates in over 60 countries. In 1948, CRS began operating in Pakistan & currently provides assistance to Pakistani communities & relief assistance to Afghan refugees. The Afghan refugee relief program began in 1982-83 when CRS supported the Austrian Relief Committee's health & sanitation project. CRS started operating its own programs in 1986 with the establishment of health & sanitation projects in the Punjab & Baluchistan & an income-generation/skills-training project for refugee women in Baluchistan. CRS headquarters is at 1011 First Avenue, New York, NY 10022. Lawrence Pezzullo is the Executive Director. (212) 838-4700. In Islamabad the office is at House #31-B, St. 34, F-7/1 (P. O. Box 1657). Bruce Jamieson is the Asst. Country Rep. 514587.

THE AFGHAN SUPPORT TEAM's primary mission is to educate young Afghans inside the country in such subjects as hygiene, basic agriculture, nutrition & administration through the use of comic books to provide a support group to help Afghanistan's leaders rebuild the country. The Team hopes to raise \$150,000; contributions can be made to the Team at P.O. Box 32274, Washington, DC 20007.

Bronchitis & upper respiratory infections lead the list of diseases treated at the Afghan Aid Association's clinic in Peshawar (University P.O. Box 954, Peshawar). 4,597 Afghans were treated at the clinic in April. Dr. Saadat Shagiwal directs the project.

**LAST YEAR,** Jan Goodwin, who is the executive editor of the Ladies' Home Journal, had a dynamite book out. "Caught in the Crossfire" told of Jan's three months with the resistance forces in war-torn Afghanistan, behind Soviet lines. Film rights to this dramatic work were bought by Howard Koch Jr.

Now Jan, a 10-year veteran at the magazine, is taking a two-year leave of absence. She'll move from her skyline Manhattan apartment into a house in Pakistan and there she'll administer the Afghan Refugee Repatriation Program, part of the Save the Children Federation. "I've been so lucky; I want to give something back," says Jan. She hopes, in time, to return to the LHJ.

Liz Smith in the DAILY NEWS, 6/21

On December 21, 1987, Congress passed legislation to grant legalization or 'amnesty' to nationals of Ethiopia, Uganda, Afghanistan and Poland. To qualify, applicants must apply between Dec 21, 87, and Dec 20, 89. They must have entered the US before July 21, 84, and have resided here continuously. They must establish that they entered as a nonimmigrant before July 21, 84, and that their authorized stay expired not later than Jan 21, 85, or that they applied for asylum before July 21, 84. They must meet traditional immigrant eligibility standards.

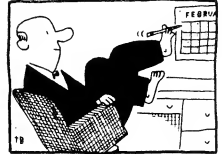
This information received little public notice. Those to whom it may apply should consult a knowledgeable immigration lawyer in their own area.

REVELATIONS #3 3/88

## Sockless Strategist

Roger Stone, the political strategist behind many Republican campaigns who otherwise has a reputation of sartorial elegance, frequently eschews wearing socks. In Ronald Reagan's 1980 Presidential campaign Nancy Reagan fastidiously brought this to her husband's attention.

Mr. Reagan then asked his otherwise impeccably clad consultant why he was not wearing socks. "I told him, 'I'm not wearing socks until the Soviets are out of Afghanistan,'" Mr.



Tom Blanton

Stone recalled. "I had to say something, and that answer seemed acceptable to Governor Reagan."

Soviet troops are leaving Afghanistan now, and this prompted someone attending a recent fund-raising event for Pete Dawkins, the Republican hoping to oust Senator Frank R. Lautenberg of New Jersey, to ask Mr. Stone again about his lack of socks.

After a reflective pause, he replied, "I'm not wearing socks until every Soviet leaves Afghanistan."

STUART TAYLOR Jr.  
DAVID BINDER

NYT 8/11

Henry Kriegel, Executive Director of the COMMITTEE FOR A FREE AFGHANISTAN, in a release dated 7/26, called for Senate & House Intelligence hearings to determine the nature of the aid being sent to the mujahideen. Mr. Kriegel states that just before 5/15, the US made a "secret deal" ("Armacost Agreement") with the Soviets whereby the US would cut off Stinger & Spanish 120mm mortar shipments to the resistance if the Soviets would not initiate any offensives during their withdrawal. "The Administration is willing to trust the Soviets to withdraw & would cut off the weapons that forced the Soviets to consider withdrawing in the first place." Mr. Kriegel feels that the President should be briefed more fully on the levels of aid reaching the mujahideen as well as on the military developments. CFA sources indicate that the mujahideen have no 120mm Spanish mortars in spite of State Dept. assurances to the contrary. For further information, contact the CFA, 214 Massachusetts Ave, NE, Suite 480, Washington, DC 20002, (202) 546-7577.

## BOOK REVIEWS

AMONG THE AFGHANS, Arthur Bonner, Duke University Press, Durham, NC & London, 1987.

What does the "normal" 62-year-old retiree do? Settle down with a peer group and listen to the hardening of the arteries while playing golf from go-go cars, or chasing females of the same age group in happy havens for hyper golden-oldies? Not so Arthur Bonner, a distinguished journalist, who decided to cover the war in Afghanistan for The New York Times. He has become the role model for many gerontological Walter Mittys, and his book has been awarded a citation for excellence in the 1987 Cornelius Ryan competition by the Overseas Press Club. Also, in the first 6 months after publication, 2,000 plus copies were sold, not a bad sale for a university press. The Central Asian Book Series under the general editorship of Prof. Edward Allworth (Columbia Univ.) has gotten off to a flying start.

Bonner's book is somewhat off the main stream. It is a Pilgrim's Progress through combat, with all the long-term boredom and short moments of intense tension. He obviously did not like the Afghans, and from what Afghans (and others) who had contact with him have told me, the feeling was mutual.

His opinions about the mujahideen are somewhat ambivalent, but by the end of the book he does grudgingly lend his voice in support of their cause. However, his value-laden ethnocentrism thrives to the end. For example, on the next to last page: "...are they [the mujahideen] the rear guard of a traditional society instinctively fighting for self-preservation?".

Bonner draws not only on his own experience in Pakistan and across the border in Afghanistan (he made several trips inside), but a number of current sources. But he neglects a number of important sources, such as Edward Girardet, Joseph Collins, and his only mention of me is on p. 240, where he misquotes me. I did not call the April 1978 coup a "blunder" in my letter to the NYT, but an "accidental coup." I did caution about calling the regime "Communist," implying Soviet domination. Such domination only came after the Soviet invasion of December 1979.

As with most instant Afghan experts, who evolved after 1978, Bonner commits many errors of fact and repeats the mythology of the refugees and the mujahidin. Space prohibits listing all the errors I caught (at least 111 in 350 pages), but a few examples are listed below (a complete list is available on request): p. 7 (and elsewhere), Afghans do not chew tobacco, they take snuff (naswar); p. 23, what could Bonner mean by this sentence, "Afghanistan, it seemed was a primitive land, with an insubstantial [emphasis LD] culture; p. 30, the British did not place Abdur Rahman on the throne of Kabul, he placed himself there and the British accepted the fact; p. 32, in the UN, Afghanistan later withdrew its vote against Pakistan's admission; p. 41, Daoud did not have an "anti-religious" attitude, but he did oppose conservative religious leaders; p. 46, Afghan police did not storm Amb. Dub's hotel room, special police commandos opened fire from across the street; p. 63, the last stand of British troops during the 1st Anglo-Afghan War was at Gandamak, not Jigdalak; p. 141, the hospital at Jaghori was not the 1st established in the Hazarajat, several were established by Americans (and others) before the 1973 Daoud coup; P. 256 (and elsewhere), the Baluch are the people, Baluchi is the language; p. 264, the wrestler would be called "Pahlawan" (strong-man) not Lalawan, which is not a name; p. 324, Kabuli Hazara were buying up the lands of their grandfathers, that Abdur Rahman (1880-1901) had seized and distributed to Pushtun followers, thereby gaining political and economic clout in both urban Kabul and rural Hazarajat; p. 337, Afghanistan does have great mineral wealth, as the studies of John Shroder (and others) have shown.

Almost grudgingly, Bonner in the end learned what the war is all about: freedom, which basically means the right of a nation to mess itself up in its own way.

All the above caveats fade when one remembers what "Old Man" Bonner accomplished, no matter what one feels about his ambivalent and overly critical attitudes toward the Afghans. And, with the Cornelius Ryan Award, his colleagues have spoken.

I only wish he had had the benefit of a good reader or two before publication.

Louis Dupree  
Duke University

\* \* \* \* \*

Just before leaving for Pakistan Louis Dupree called the FORUM to say he was sending us a review of the film RAMBO III. The letter never arrived but Louis wrote the following thinking that our readers had had the advantage of reading his thoughts on Rambo.

THE LIVING DAYLIGHTS (Or Up Against It in Afghanistan with 007)

Flying from London to Islamabad on 12 June, Nancy & I watched a James Bond comedy (?) called The Living Daylights, so named, I suppose, because someone had had this frightened out of them - the producer? The last half of the film takes place in "Afghanistan," and is full of Bondian derring doo-doo. The plot revolves about a Soviet KGB general who is buying opium from the Afghan mujahidin, so they can buy weapons. The KGB general actually sells the opium to a former West Pointer (kicked out for cheating) who is an international arms dealer. He buys the opium from the Soviets who then buy the latest state-of-the-art weapons from him (i.e., the former West Pointer). If you think this is complicated, stand by!

Naturally, 007 fouls up the schemes of the KGB general and the former West Pointer. Bond is helped by a disloyal KGB officer named Pushkin (now really!) who wants to trap the corrupt KGB general. (I think I have the plot straight, but...?)

Anyhow, Bond saves himself and a lovely blond cellist who owns an expensive Stradivarius. Several scenes imply sex without the slightest titillation factor. [It's pretty hard with a cello, Louis. Ed.]

Rambo III, when compared to the garbage found in The Living Daylights is a masterpiece of the genre. Stallone is almost believable but the new Bond (I've even forgotten his name! Sean Connery, where are you now that we need you?) is absolutely ridiculous, saved not by brains, brawn & skill, but implausible gadgets & gimcray.

## AFGHANISTAN AGONY OF A NATION SANDY GALL Foreword by Margaret Thatcher

Excerpts from a review by John Gunston which appeared in AFGHANISTAN, #8, Winter 1988, published by the Afghanistan Information Office, 18 Charing Cross Road, London.

*Afghanistan: Agony Of A Nation* is Sandy Gall's second book about his travels with the Afghan Mujahideen. Very similar in style to his previous account, he again visits the legendary Commander Ahmed Shah Masud in the Panjsher to make a documentary for Central Television.

He is accompanied by Noel Smart, a Central TV cameraman and Andy Skrypkowiak, the doyen of Afghan cameramen. Their trip is delayed immediately on arrival in Islamabad, to wait until the snow clears from the passes. The eloquent and poetic Masud Khalili tells him that he must stay in the Pakistani capital because "Peshawar is full of KHAD and KGB spies and someone as well known as you will be spotted immediately."

After three weeks they finally set off from Chitral, with the irrepressible Masud Khalili from Jamiat. Within the

first few days they encounter the bureaucratic vagaries of the Daudes in Nuristan, where they undergo interrogation by Arabic Wahabists. Their involvement in the war with "the Koran in one hand, chequebook in the other", has been one of the causes of much of the interneine fighting amongst the Mujahideen. Gall goes into the reasons of this, with a prophetic warning of the belligerent attitude of Hesh-i-Islami led by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.

The journey over the mountains is extremely tough and Gall, then 39, struggled over the mountain passes of 15,000 feet and more, sometimes clinging to a horse's tail for support, while Andy sped along in front to film.

Their journey takes them out by the same route through Nuristan and Kantarwar, where they again stay with Han

Ghafoor, who immediately asks Andy for his saddle. "It's yours", Andy told him. "And the bridle as well." The next time Andy passed through was October 1987, and that was the last time anyone has seen him.

Gall ends his book with the harrowing accounts from the survivors of the Chardarra massacre. He does not waiver in his condemnation of the Soviets. "I believe... that the Russians have been pursuing a policy of genocide - the extermination of a race - in Afghanistan since Christmas Eve, 1979."

Though uneven in parts, probably due to the short time taken in the writing, the book describes a journey by a man one can't help but admire for embarking on such an adventure at his age. For his work on Afghanistan, Sandy Gall was awarded the Lawrence of Arabia Memorial Medal in 1987. He also received a CBE in the New Year Honours List



## Textbook press to start soon

uded between Afghanistan and Canada and an 8 million dollar Canadian aid for the project.

"It was also planned in the framework of this aid to build six textbook distribution centres in six bigger provinces. But the

"But the Republic of Afghanistan completed the construction of the project with due consideration to its importance and the press is now ready for installation of machinery. As per a protocol concluded between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union Soviet experts would come to Kabul and start the installation of equipment and machinery which have been imported recently."

The session unanimously decided that the standing commissions of the Senate should elect their executive officers in the afternoon of the Senate, presided by the vice president and secretaries of the standing commissions were introduced to the Senate.

"Our enterprise," he said "plans to complete this year construction of a market in Khushal Me-

Now the enterprise has a capacity of producing 13,000 tons of asphalt per annum for 375,000 sq. m. Presently the enterprise is concentrating on the repair of city roads. The roads in front of Avicenna Hospital, in front of Zainab cinema up to Sh

"Every facility has been provided for the workers; they have health clinic and a kindergarten for children. Our kindergarten won the medal of 'People's Friendship' on the occasion of World Children Day," he concluded.

(Staff reporter Bharat)

(By our reporter Ambua)

As a result of partial completion of the big irrigation projects during the current year, 1900 hectares of land in Kokcha Sufia and Nahr-i-Lashkari of Nimroz will be made ready for irrigation. And

An area of 1060 hectares was newly brought under irrigation and 1086 ha prepared for cultivation last year. The irrigation of 700 hectares and drainage in 900 hectares were im-

With the active cooperation of people 481 hydro-technical establishments were repaired or built, 3 million cubic meter of earth work and 12,000 cubic metre of masonry were carried out. As a result

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Kabul, Afghanistan

A spokesman of the council told BIA that four

According to another report, 12 literacy courses with an enrollment of

Now there are 23 literacy courses with a membership of over 2400 in the province. (BIA)

# Private sector imports up

Distilled water machine procured

"Essential goods and commodities, valued at 152 million dollars, were imported in the first quarter of the current Afghan year by traders in the private sector in cooperation with the Chambers of Commerce and Industry of the Republic of Afghanistan. This shows an increase of 31 per cent as compared to 116.2 million dollars in the same period last year."

Said Mohammad Hakim, president of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry at Kabul Times correspondent.

Traders in the private sector plan to import machinery and equipment (worth 22 million dollars), metal and metal products (13 million dollars), chemicals (3.2 million dollars), tyres and tubes (28.7 million dollars), vegetable oil (10.3 million dollars), cigarettes (14.3 million dollars), thread it-

ems (104 million dollars), textiles (18.5 million dollars), soap (9.55 million dollars), footwear (6.5 million dollars) pharmaceuticals (5 million dollars), television sets, (one million dollars), stationery (1.1 million dollars), bicycles (3.1 million dollars) and other primary essential goods worth 44 million dollars. This also shows a growth of 20 per cent as compared to last year's plan, he said.

He added that the Chambers of Commerce and Industry do not carry any trade activity, directly but act as a service institution for providing facilities and help to national traders. For instance, in the ten years of the post-revolution period import of primary essential goods and commodities normally continued with the active participation of the national traders and capital holders with such goods no shortage of such goods was felt at

any stage.

The import plan was 264.5 million dollars last year, but the goods imported through the national traders touched 578 million dollars. This (itself shows active participation of the national traders in this field.

The national traders have trade relations with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria, Britain, German Democratic Republic, America, Japan, France, West Germany, Italy, India, Singapore, Thailand, Arab countries, Pakistan, China, Korea, Belgium and other countries from whom they import the essential goods.

Mohammad Hakim said that the Chambers of Commerce and Industry of the Republic of Afghanistan is an active member of the Federation of International Chambers of Commerce and Industry. It is in close contact with this institution regard-

ing import of good and including small and medium and capital holders. "Chambers of Commerce and Industry play a significant role in the establishment of industrial factories," he said. For instance, on the basis of the all-round assistance of the friendly Soviet Union on 173 small industrial projects on credit basis were provided to the national entrepreneurs of the country.

Of these projects, 28, with an initial investment of 308 million Afis and a working capital of 770 million Afis in the fields of bakery, chocolate manufacturing, construction, salt filtration, confectionary, bicycle assembly, shoe making and liquid oxygen have reached to their final stage. The necessary equipment and machinery is to be imported shortly. Of

as president, the Bakhtar Bicycle Factory has already started functioning. The People's Republic of Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia have also promised assistance for 22 and 10 projects respectively to the national traders. On this basis 265 projects have been assigned to national traders. With the commissioning of the above projects, the needs of the people would be met fully.

Mohammad Hakim said that the new law of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry has been recently enforced and implemented its branches in Kabul, Kandahar, Balkh, Nangarhar, Herat, Samangan, Faryab, Paktia, Kanduz, Paktia, Logar and Aqcha where they cooperate with the national traders in the import of goods. Mohammad Hakim concluded.

(By Our Reporter Farooq)

JUNE 28, 1988

## Sports magazine

### published

KABUL, JULY 4. (BIA) The first issue of sports magazine of the state committees for sports and physical training has been published.

The magazine carries articles on the development of sports in the country and introduces Afghan athletes and contains other topics.

JULY 1.

## 286 return from Kuwait

Since the proclamation of national reconciliation till now, 286 people who

were living in Kuwait have returned home.

7/13

# Peace strides in Wardak

I was going to Maidan Shar, centre of Wardak province. The road through asphalted was all in ruins due to the nine years of undeclared war.

On both sides of the road were fertile lands where peasants were working. Students were happily going to their schools. Security could be seen far away on the peaks of mountains and remote hills.

I got off my car and went to Shikhe Taran-doy security post. All living facilities have been provided to the staff of the post. Mohammad Naim, head of the security post, said that the Taran-doy units have maintained peace and security on the high way since many years. Hundreds of state and private vehicles are playing every day to and from Herat, Kandahar, Ghazni, Logar and Wardak. Peace and tranquility have been maintained in villages by establishing security posts in rural areas.

Armed extremist groups have attempted times and again to disturb the peaceful life of the people by launching savage attacks on villages but were rebuffed by the armed forces and Taran-doy. Our officers and soldiers are well prepared and defend peace with high morale, he concluded.

I reached Maidan Shar. This small city is crowded as usual. Normal life prevails in the city. I recalled the hostile propaganda of western media saying that with the return of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan the Afghan armed forces are not able to defend peace and security in the country. They claim that at some provinces of Afghanistan including Wardak have been occupied by the so-called Mujahideen. There are those who spread this warning lies to see the normal life going on in this province.

7/6

## Tax exemption raised

The president has approved through decree No. 330 dated 26 July 1988, amendment No. 13 to the law on income tax. All the state, municipal and private institutions have to calculate the taxes of their employees as per the new amendment.

Under the new legislation, the tax exemption for married employees having children has been raised from 45,000 Afis to 72,000. Bachelors are exempted up to 36,000 Afis.

As an employee who has no other income except salary are not bound to submit the tax returns. This prevents additional administrative work and the use of a large staff of stationery.

JULY 18, 1988

# Cabinet decisions

The cabinet met Tuesday. The session was presided over by Dr. Mohammad Hassan Sharq, Prime Minister of the Republic of Afghanistan.

It started with a prayer for peace and tranquillity in the country. Dr. Sharq underlined the prime tasks of the ministry in implementing the policies of the government and the directives of President Najibullah issued earlier when he had received the cabinet members.

Nematallah Paszkw Minister without Portfolio, was unanimously elected Secretary for Cabinet meetings. The Cabinet assessed the issue of sale and purchase of property of the citizens and decided as follows:

1. To implement the policy of national reconciliation and provide further facilities to our countrymen, the selling and purchasing of immovable property of our countrymen can take place in accordance with the current law of the country through courts. The agreement of municipality precincts as a must in the capital and provinces for selling and purchasing of all im-

movable property.

2. The standing commission of the executive committee of the Council of Ministers for selling and purchasing of immovable property of the citizens as well as the commission of Kabul Municipality in Kabul and provinces for selling and purchasing of immovable property should be abolished.

The meeting also discussed the proposal of the Ministry of Nationalities and Tribal Affairs on dissolving the central council of high jurgh for frontier tribes the central council of Hazara nationality and Nomads' council and approved the following:

1. Now that the National Assembly, drawn from representatives of all nationalities and tribes, has been established, the above mentioned councils should be abolished.

2. The Ministry of Tribal Affairs should now be called Ministry of Frontier Affairs.

The meeting decided that the department for direct cooperation should be called to the Ministry of Commerce with all

its organizational, apparatus, budget and equipment.

It also discussed the supply of sugar in the market and approved:

1. The proposal of the Ministry of Commerce on supplying sugar to the consumers through individual sales outlets is approved.

2. The wholesale price of 1 kg sugar will be 78 Afis and the retail price 90 Afis.

3. The Ministry of Commerce should draft the rules of distribution of sugar to shopkeepers and act accordingly.

Describing the duties and approach of the ministries toward the people and the government, the meeting discussed a number of organizational issues, contracts, financial and economic affairs of state institutions, domestic and international issues and adopted necessary measures. The Cabinet discussed 41 issues in all in the meeting. Subjects requiring further discussion were assigned to the commissions concerned.

JUNE 28, 1988

# 22 private projects approved

The standing commission of the Council of Ministers for domestic and foreign private investment met recently with Mr. Sayed Amanuddin Amin, Deputy Prime Minister in the chair. The commission approved 22 private projects with their capital totalling 1,397 million Afis. The projects include:

**Balkh agricultural and livestock breeding complex.**  
To be set up in Balkh with an initial capital of four million and final capital of 12 million Afis. The project will employ 82 persons and cover 82 arid lands. Its annual production is estimated at 240 tons of grains, 20 tons of cotton, 15 tons of vegetables, and 45,000 chickens. It will employ 40 people.

**Nawbahar agricultural and livestock breeding complex.**

It is to be set up in Balkh province with an initial capital of seven million and final capital of 11 million Afis. The complex will employ 24 persons and produce annually 70 tons of wheat, 25 tons of cotton, 20 tons of grain, 120 tons of grapes, 25 tons of vegetables, 5.8 tons of oil crops, 20 tons of fodder, and 15,000 litres of milk.

**Shahbakh poultry agricultural enterprise.**

To be set up with an initial capital of six million and final capital of 13 million Afis in Mazari-Sharif. Annual production capacity is 25 tons of grains, 15 tons of cotton, 15 tons of vegetable and 45,000 chickens. It will employ 40 people.

**Abdul Bari plastic bag manufacturing Co.**

The factory will have an initial capital of 15 million and final capital of 22 million Afis. It can produce 150 tons of plastic bags.

**Watan pharmaceuticals.**

The factory is to be established in the industrial estate of Kabul with an initial capital of 280 million Afis and final capital of 350 million Afis. It can produce 150 million capsules, 15 million tablets, six million ampoules and two million bottles of syring and employ 120 people.

**Rahmati carpet weaving and cleaning Co.**

It will have an initial capital of 18 million and final capital of 810 million Afis. The unit is to be set up in Kabul with a capacity of weaving 3000 sq. m. of silk and woollen carpets. 498 persons would be employed.

**Carpet weaving and cleaning unit of Ali Khan Ashraf.**

To be established with an initial capital of Afis 8 million and final capital of 11 million in Kart-e-Parwan area of Kabul city. Its capacity will be 1500 square metre woolen carpet and washing and cleaning of 60 thousand sq. m. of carpet annually. It will provide jobs to 178 workers.

**Kamran leather industries.**

The factory will have an initial capital of Afis 250 million and final capital of 400 million. To be set up in Pulicharkhi, Kabul, its annual production capacity is estimated at Afis 2 million square feet of processed leather and 50,000 leather garments and 220,000 pairs of gloves. It would employ 350 workers.

**Soft drinks factory of Amir Gail.**

To be established with an initial capital of Afis 3.45 million and final capital of 5.25 million in Jalalabad. It will produce annually 600,000 bottles of beverages and provide jobs to ten persons.

**Ferozhi Biscuit manufacturing Co.**

The factory will have an initial capital of Afis 4.5 million and final capital of 9.5 million. Its annual production capacity is estimated at 120 tonnes of biscuits. 13 workers will find employment.

**Adankhel agricultural project.**

To be established with an initial capital of Afis 7 million and final capital of 13 million in Kabul city. The project is aimed at development of arid lands. It will provide jobs for 70 persons.

**Muraza construction company Ltd.**

With an initial capital of 20 million and final capital of 40 million Afis, the company is to be established in Kabul city. Its annual capacity is 30,000 cu. m. construction.

**Parva construction unit.**

Saka construction company, Fascalat construction and Jansan construction company.

To be established in Kabul city and in Sheberghan, all have the same capital, the same production capacity and, can employ the same number of people as the above.

**Amazi vehicle repair workshop.**

To be established in Kabul industrial estate with initial capital of 47.5 million and final capital of 97 million. It can repair 10,000 vehicles, paint 200 and wash 10,000 vehicles. 81 workers would be employed.

**Fagiri plastic utensils factory.**

Having a capital of 20 million and final capital of 50 million Afis, the factory is to be established in Kabul city. It can produce annually 50,000 vessels and employ 35 persons.

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Valueable Afghan handicrafts are made of marble and alabaster and lapis lazuli which are popular abroad. These stones are mined in different parts of the country. Costly articles are also made from emerald ruby and precious stones and exported abroad.

Lapis lazuli is found in the north and east and es-

pecially in Badkhashan province. Goldsmiths use it for jewellery lace, rings, necklaces. It is also used to decorate ashtrays, dishes etc.

Small stone boxes, figur-

ures of birds and ashtrays are made of marble and alabaster.

Marble mines are found in Salang and Maidanhar of Wardak province, and alabaster in Helmand province. Handicrafts are marketed inside the country and abroad by the handicraft development centre of Afghanistan.

Marble and onyx handicrafts made by Afghan craftsmen.

Handicrafts and precious stones

(By Our staff reporter)

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## Publications by Islamic Research Centre

The main task of the Islamic Research Centre is to carry on research in Islamic sciences. Since its establishment, the centre has published 35 books dealing with different Islamic sciences and work is under way for bringing out another five books, said Mohammad Seddiq Sallani, head of the Islamic Research Centre and acting rector of Islamic University, talking to a KT correspondent.

"Various departments of the centre such as Prophet's sayings, interpretation of Quran, Fiqh and law, history, faith and philosophy, compilation and translation are engaged in publishing books, apart from research about the life and works of Islamic scientists, particularly those of our own country. The Islamic Research Centre can publish more books for readers here and in other Islamic countries, provided the printing facilities are improved. The first project for translation from Arabic into Pashto has been undertaken by the centre. The first book under translation is 'Tanweer-ul-Abad'."

"Among the books under publication is one about Imam Fakhr Razi, a great Afghan interpreter, his research and valuable services for Islam. This book has been prepared by



Mohammad Seddiq Sallani

the department of history of the centre.

A note-worthy book published by the centre is entitled 'Foundations of sciences of law'. This book is much useful for legislative bodies, students of Islamic University and Law Faculty of Kabul University," Sallani said.

Another aspect of the centre's work is Islamic University. There are 450 students enrolled in the University which has in three faculties divided into departments of Quran interpretation, Prophet's sayings, Shariat, Fiqh and law, faith, logic, history of Islam, Islamic sciences. It admits the gra-

duates of 13th and 14th classes of religious madrasas and graduates of 12th grades of regular schools," he went on.

This university awards BA and MA degrees. The students of the university are exempted till the completion of their studies from their national service. Refresher courses are also conducted for the teachers of religious madrasas and schools, preachers and imams of the mosques and taklas at the university.

There are departments for Islamic sermons and instruction, Islamic edu-

cation and Arabic language and literature in the faculty of Islamic sciences of the university. The subjects are taught by outstanding teachers and researchers. The high council of ulama and clergymen cooperates in conducting courses at university.

He added that not only Islamic research is carried on, but also the university has laid the ground for compilation of books of the Islamic scholars.

According to Sallani, the Islamic university is ready to cooperate in research in Islamic sciences, training cadres and exchange of Islamic scholars with all Islamic countries of the world and the region. For example, the university is ready to admit foreign students and also to invite outstanding Islamic scholars from abroad. We hope that if we could maintain permanent relations with the great centre of Islamic research in New York as a result of the recent visit of President Najibullah to it he said.

The signing of Geneva agreements is a positive step for the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan but Pakistan violates the articles of the documents of those agreements. These violations will damage the position and prestige of Pakistan in the world, he added. (By our reporter Ehsan)

# AFGHAN ZARGARI

The Afghan Zargari (goldsmith) art is a very delicate and old craft in our country which dates back to over 2,000 years. The relics excavated from the Tilla Tapa that belonged to the first century BC and the first century AD, prove this contention. Goldsmiths used to create the best specimens of their craft, eye-catching jewellery in silver and bronze, engaged with the designs from Greece, Central Asia and India.

The Zargari art is also common today. The creations of Afghan goldsmiths are mostly marketed inside the country. One can find numerous jewellery shops in the capital and provinces. The craftsmen are divided into goldsmiths, silver and bronze masters. Goldsmith shops

are found mostly in Kabul, Balkh, Kandahar, Herat and Badakhshan cities. They make rings, earrings, lockets, bracelets necklaces, etc. and attach to them precious pendants studded with lapis lazuli, ruby, emerald, topaz turquoise and pearls all of which are found in Afghanistan.

Iranian, Russian and Arab gold is used in Afghan jewellery. In determining the percentage of gold, goldsmiths employ traditional and indigenous methods, that is, gold is rubbed on a piece of black stone which has a very hard and smooth surface and is called 'Sang-e Mahak' (Touchstone).

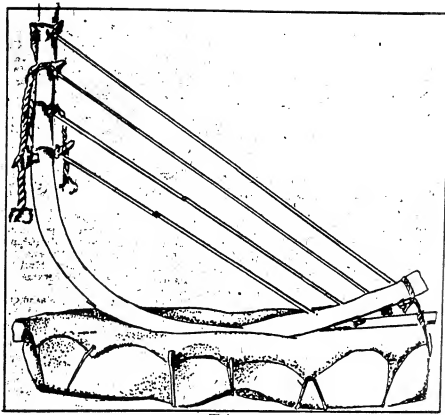
Another group of craftsmen make silver jewellery. This group of craftsmen, like goldsmiths, use particular designs in

silver jewellery. Their products are mainly for Turkmen, Pashtoon and Hazara women. Silver used is mainly imported from abroad, precious stones, particularly lapis lazuli and turquoise and others are also used in silver jewellery.

Women living mostly in rural areas wear silver jewellery, as it is cheaper than gold.

Jewellery in bronze is also common in various parts of the country. Those who specialise in this art also use silver. Armlets, chains for ankles, lockets, amulet covers and diverse other bracelets are made of bronze. The number of bronze shops is fewer than those of goldsmiths and silver smiths. Bronze jewellery is, however, less in use than gold and silver jewellery.

(By: Z. Rashed) 6/29



Waj

## Waj—ancient musical instrument

Waj is a Nooristani musical instrument which is very similar to a harp. It is featured in Gandahara sculpture and also painted on the wall over the head of the seated Buddha statue in Bamian.

Waj is a string instrument picked up by Singara. According to Dandash scholars this instrument is of ancient origin and

various types of waj have been in use among the Egyptians, Assyrians and Hebrews. This instrument was probably common in different parts of the world, but today it is found only in Nooristan.

The late Kohzad, famous historian of the country, has written on the sides of this musical instrument and that the pe-

ople of Nooristan, who are the original inhabitant of eastern Hindukush, have special interest in it.

It is made of wood, strings and a sound board. It has three tones and is performed generally solo

or in accompaniment with other string instruments. Waj is generally played by girls in Wama subdistrict and Waigal district of Kunar province. Nooristani instrumentalists have planned to record the melodies of this instrument for Radio-TV. (By Samullah Nooristani)

7/2

## More opportunities for higher ed'n in provinces: Barits

'The convening of the National Assembly, formation of the new cabinet and entrusting jobs to qualified employees is another step taken for ushering in peace and achievement of national reconciliation in the country. We will arrange our plans in accordance with the guidelines of the new government,' said Noor Ahmad Barits, Minister of Higher and Vocational Education in an interview to our correspondent.

The objective of all members of the cabinet is to ensure peace and brotherhood in the country. The sessions of the National Assembly discussed numerous problems and adopted necessary decisions. For instance, some of the

'deputies complained of having no university or higher educational institute in their provinces. I would personally do my best for establishing such educational institutions in the ... provinces. The people of Herat province had this problem that we could solve it. I mean, we have set up a university in that province and are about to equip it. Similarly, a university was set up in Balkh province recently, which still has some problems. We hope that these problems will be overcome gradually. As a rule we admit 120 outside students to universities. But taking into account existing problems, we will try to conduct preparatory courses for students from the provinces so that they can join the uni-

versities. We have also tried to keep the balance in awarding scholarships to students from the capital and the provinces. Dr. Barits went on to say.

As you know, after the proclamation of the policy of national reconciliation, real democracy came into being in the country and this will apply to universities, academic centres for training national cadres. We are trying to draft rules under which the rector of Kabul University, and the deans of faculties would be elected. To this end, we have set up a commission of experienced teachers of the University.

We also plan to establish students' councils in colleges. From these councils representatives to the Student's Council of the University will be elected.

The Minister added that one of the most important issues before us is the administrative proliferation

of the country. We would have to solve this problem. The rehabilitation of Engineering Faculty is another point to be mentioned here. This will be done with India's assistance.

Despite the increasing number of college graduates, the number of qualified and expert country teachers is low. About 350 teachers are living abroad. One of the main objectives of the policy of national reconciliation is to attract our estranged brothers, including teachers, living in foreign countries to return.

Knowledge recognizes no boundary. Today, hostile countries also share their scientific knowledge with each other. At present, our country is in dire need of scientific cooperation with any country willing to extend the hand of cooperation to Afghanistan. Scientific assistance should be rendered to serve humanity. (By: Baharati) 7/16



Noor Ahmad Barits

## OFFERS INVITED

Mohammad Naim s/o Nasrudin has offered to supply seven items of nickel dishes needed by the Purchasing Department of the Ministry of Defence as per specifications:

- Nickel made spoons and forks, 150,000 pairs, 124 Afs per pair.
- Big Nickel cooking spoon, 4,300 pieces, 270 Afs per piece.
- Tray brand 555, 7,000 pcs, 365 Afs per pc.
- Small Nickel teapot, 1200 pcs, 1310 Afs per pc.
- Big Nickel teapot, 1200 pcs, 2,815 Afs per pc.
- 10 Kgs balance, 480 units, Afs 2830 per unit and.
- Foreign made Napkin, 450,000 sheets, 30 Afs per sheet.

Individuals, institutions and foreign companies willing to bid at less than the given price may attend the bidding in the Purchasing Department of the said ministry at 10 a.m. on July 16, which is the last date for this purpose. Terms, samples and the trade licence can be obtained. Cash bidbond is required.

(28) 2-1

## TENDER NOTICE

The purchasing department of Defence Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan needs the following eight items as per specifications:

- Korean made mirror, size 40-50, 300 pcs.
- Pakistani long shoe cleaning pad door mats 90 width 1000 metres.
- Rubber door mats 500 sheets.
- German make curtain rods with accessories 1,000 meter.
- Cotton cloth (Ganaseot) curtain either Pakistani or Indian 2,000 metres.
- Pakistani ceiling fan alongwith complete switch, 5000.
- Japan-made table fan, 200 units.
- Chinese-made hurricane (gas lamp), 200 units.

Individuals, institutions and foreign firms, willing to bid, should attend the bidding in the purchasing department of the ministry, located in the Darul-Aman at 10 a.m. on July 25th, which is the last date for this purpose. Terms and samples can be obtained. Cash bidbond and trade licences are required. (30) 2-3

7/5

7/10

# Lost lynch-pin

MOHAMMAD ZIA UL HAQ was a dictator. To say that is not to be needlessly rude, but simply to draw attention to the problems that are bequeathed to a dictated-to country when the dictator goes, suddenly, by murder or not, on an otherwise eventless afternoon.

He was not the head dictator at the top of a pyramid of learner dictators. He was Pakistan's one and only. In a way he was of an older breed of strong men, reminiscent of those of the 1930s in Europe who came to power on the debris of ruined democracies. He even looked old-fashioned, isolated, taking the salute from what he regarded as a grateful nation. He did not look like a product of the casual 1980s, as rumbled Mr Gorbachev and chain-smoking Mr Deng do.

Zia was a fighter. His politics was flawed, but he was an able soldier. His predecessor, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who chose Zia as army chief because he thought he would be pliant, was happy to have his army run by a competent soldier who then ungenerously executed him. When the Russians started to pull out of Afghanistan in May, Zia's professional instinct was to get the guerrilla armies to move in fast and seize the towns, if possible Kabul itself. Pakistan's army was ordered to give the guerrillas maximum support, providing them with the best weapons, offering them expert advice, if necessary taking part in the fighting.

The aim of keeping pressure on the Russians was fine, but the specific plan has not so far worked, in part because the guerrilla leaders in the field were divided about it. Its main effect has been to make it possible for the Russians to complain that Pakistan was violating the Geneva agreement under which they were pulling out. Zia the soldier did not have time to think again. Still, he did as much as anyone to make Afghanistan untenable for the Russians. Among all the regrets about his premature death, one will be that he was not able to witness the logical end to his endeavours.

The passing of Zia the dictator will not be regretted. Zia the sometimes confused human being will be recalled with affection. Zia the soldier has a decent place in the momentous recent history of the region. He did more than most to save it from Russia. That is not a bad epitaph.

**The Economist**

AUGUST 20 1988

**THE WALL STREET JOURNAL**

AUGUST 18, 1988

In an interview earlier this year with The Wall Street Journal, President Zia spoke of the Afghan war as his personal, Islamic cause and said he would stand up to any Soviet efforts to intimidate him.

"Perhaps Pakistan will have to pay a little more price until the Mujahideen (Moslem resistance) achieve their aims in Afghanistan," he said. He vowed that Pakistan "will pay the price," which he said would be "arm-twisting, border bombing and other things."

U.S. officials don't believe the Afghan resistance faces any immediate military threat; it has a large stockpile of weapons

that will grow every time it captures a regime post. Any problems caused for it by President Zia's death will come later. Whoever succeeds President Zia will be more preoccupied with domestic problems, and will be less capable of backing Afghan rebels, particularly given increased resentment by Pakistanis of what they perceive as a drain on their economy caused by the continued presence of Afghan refugees.

All this comes at a time when the Afghan regime's army is performing better than expected. "It is becoming increasingly clear that Soviet assessments are true that the Afghan regime isn't a house of cards that will collapse instantly," said Dimitri Simas, a specialist on Soviet affairs at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "It could hold out major cities for a considerable period of time."



The New York Times  
President Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq

Shah. The pilot, who survived, was not Afghan, but Soviet.

The Afghan KGB, or WAD, continues terrorist assaults in Pakistan. The most recent was a July 25 explosion near a Pakistani army officers mess at Peshawar. Since bombs are WAD's stock in trade, it rates top suspicion for the explosion that blew President Zia's plane out of the sky. That is another way of saying that the explosion could have been the ultimate extension of the campaign by the Russians to get the Americans and Pakistanis out of their hair while they try to consolidate their hold on Afghanistan by means other than actions by uniformed Soviet troops.

The terrorist campaign, which has killed hundreds of civilians, already had brought domestic pressure to bear on the Pakistan government to stop antagonizing the Soviets. More-

## Pakistan in the Balance

President Zia ul-Haq's death should set alarms clanging in the non-communist world. For years, the Pakistani leader had stood firm against Soviet expansionism. His support for the Afghan mujahideen helped force the Soviets to begin pulling uniformed troops out of Afghanistan. But the war in Afghanistan is by no means over. President Zia's courage could prove to have accomplished little if his successor is less stalwart and if the U.S. is lulled into believing—against all evidence—that Mikhail Gorbachev really has forsown imperialism.

Right now, Pakistan's government is in the hands of a caretaker president. Senate Chairman Gulam Ishaq Khan, who is said to share Mr. Zia's toughness. Parliamentary elections are scheduled for November, but we know little about who will assume permanent leadership. All we know is that Pakistan will continue to face intense Soviet pressure.

When the U.S. State Department helped pressure President Zia into signing the Afghan peace accords in April, many Westerners assumed the Soviets had agreed to go home. But in fact the agreement to withdraw "foreign" troops was between Moscow and its own quisling government in Kabul and was interpreted only to mean uniformed troops, if it means even that. By some estimates, a large force of Soviet Central Asian troops now serve in Kabul military units. Kabul also has at its disposal a Soviet-trained secret police force, called the WAD, with a small army of at least 20,000 agents. In short, the Soviets may withdraw some troops but they clearly plan to maintain a presence in Afghanistan if they can.

A key part of that strategy is to shut off outside aid to the Afghan mujahideen resistance. To that end, Soviet-supported attacks on Pakistan have continued since the April accords. An Agence France Press dispatch on August 8 reported that an Afghan air force plane was shot down by a Pakistani F-16 while attacking Afghan refugee camps 30 kilometers inside Pakistan territory, near Miram

ver, there is widespread unhappiness inside Pakistan with the continued presence of some three million Afghan refugees on Pakistan territory. The country's next leader will face a serious challenge from a largely left-wing opposition, of which Benazir Bhutto is the best-known example. Ms. Bhutto—now six months pregnant—has been blamed in her reaction to President Zia's death, but she is on record as favoring the expulsion of the Afghan refugees from Pakistan and good relations with the current Kabul regime.

There are other threats, India—the large, ever-quarrelsome neighbor—continues to curry favor, receive aid and buy arms from the Soviets. If the U.S. State Department continues to be glum/happy it won't be much help in supplying Pakistan's next president with the kind of anti-Soviet resolve needed to support the mujahideen on the battlefields of Afghanistan. Nor is it a help that U.S. legislators such as Rep. Stephen Solarz may very likely be tempted once again to use a U.S. aid embargo as the blunt instrument to stop Pakistan from developing nuclear weapons. This kind of brinkmanship serves no one but the Kremlin.

Finally, Pakistan's next president will be facing an Asian scene in which the balance has been sliding away from the West. The pro-Western Shah is long gone from Iran. India's prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi, is increasingly taking his mother's old pro-Soviet slant. Former U.S. military bases in Vietnam now serve the Soviets. America has vacated its bases in Thailand, and is in jeopardy of losing its bases in the Philippines. Offsetting some of this was the astounding headway made by the Afghan resistance, backed by a Pakistani president who would not let the Soviets dictate the terms. President Zia's successor—when he emerges—will start out with less political capital and less stature abroad. The Soviets, no doubt, will be ready to test his resolve. For that, the West had better be ready too.

**THE WALL STREET JOURNAL**

AUGUST 19, 1988

# CHRONOLOGY

6/4 - Kayhan Int'l (Tehran) - Iran's representative to the FAO urged the World Food Program to up its assistance to refugees. The WFP allocated \$4.2m to Iran last year for Afghan refugees.

6/15 - HK Standard - Soviet leader Gorbachev threatened Pakistan with retaliation for aiding mujahideen. The warning came during a meeting with Najibullah who stopped in Moscow on his way back from Cuba.

- SCMP - Over 100 ROA troops were killed in an offensive against "increasingly strong mujahideen concentrations" near Paghman.

- India is evacuating her citizens from her Kabul Embassy (see 7/31).

6/17 - BIA - A protocol regarding aid in electrification was signed between The Ukrainian SSR & Nimroz & Parwan. - So far 135,984 emigre Afghans have returned home.

6/19 - BIA - A Tashkent-Samangan friendship store opened in Aibak. The store sells farm & consumer goods at a 20-50% discount; income is used for socio-economic, cultural & health services in Samangan.

- The Joint Afghan-India Economic Cooperation Commission began a 3-day series of meetings.

6/20 - BIA - Eng. Moh'd Ebrahim Yaqobzada is the "favorite deputy" of Sar-e-Pul Province, having gotten 15,217 votes in the last election. He said the primary needs of Sar-e-Pul residents are health centers, schools & paved roads.

- The DYOA & the Writers' Union will sponsor a nation-wide conference of "creative youths" in July.

6/21 - BIA - The 1st session of the Afghan-Cuba Joint Technical & Economic Commission began today.

- Said Abdul Ghafour Joshan is the in-charge of the ROA Foreign Ministry liaison office with UNGOMAP in Kabul.

6/22 - Los Angeles Times - Over 2,000 Soviet soldiers, under attack from mujahideen, have evacuated Kandahar City for the safety of its heavily fortified airport. Reportedly food prices in Kandahar are up 10 fold because of a month-long mujahid siege of the city.

- BIA - Sultan Ali Keshmand was elected a sec'y of the PDPA CC. The CC recommended that Abdul Qader, former ROA Amb. to Poland, be discharged from CC Membership (see p.28 ).

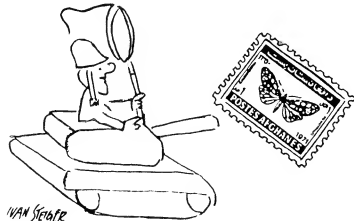
6/23 - BIA - Cuba will assist the ROA in the fields of public health, agriculture, communications & sports.

- Since 3/21, over 105 tons of olive oil have been offered to local & foreign markets by the Jalalabad olive processing factory. Workers fill 60-75,000 bottles with olive oil daily.

- 9,626 students are taught at Kabul Univ. by 577 lecturers.

6/24 - HK Standard - Najibullah threatened to step up military efforts against those who are thwarting his efforts to bring peace to Afghanistan. He called for closer coordination between the armed forces & the CC.

- A Pakistani news agency reported (no other confirmation) that another bridge has been built over the Oxus to move tanks & armored vehicles into northern Afghanistan.



Afghanistan Info no 22, juin 1986

- HK Standard - The USSR asked the UN Sec'y Gen'l to help obtain the release of over 300 soldiers reportedly detained by the mujahideen.

6/25 - HK Standard - Tass, quoting Bakhtar, said that some rebels were planning to attack the UNGOMAP staff in Kabul:

The agency said one rebel leader, Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, had reportedly formed a special strike force for attacking UN staff. . . .

"Its task will be to penetrate into Kabul with the assistance of

Hikmatyar's armed groups operating in Kabul province and work out plans for killing UN mission members monitoring the observance of the Geneva accords," Tass said.

6/26 - LA Times - Pakistan blamed ROA agents for a bombing which destroyed a hotel in the old section of Peshawar, killing 13 & injuring 4.

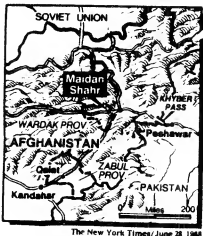
6/27 - BIA - UNDP is assisting the ROA in equipping an experimental farm at the veterinary college of Kabul Univ. - A ceremony marked the opening of Herat Univ. which already has 1,000 students. An Afs. 36m building for the university will be built shortly.

- Ershad Ahmad, a Pakistani journalist, was killed near Kandahar last week.

- NYT - A fire at the Kabul airport destroyed 8 Soviet SU-25 jets.

6/28 - NYT - Mujahideen reportedly captured Maidan Shahr in Wardak. Mujahideen also captured Qalat in Zabul on 6/16.

(On 6/25, BIA said that a group "trying to disturb peaceful life" in Wardak had been crushed.)



- BIA - The 1st official session of Moh'd Hassan Sharq's cabinet was held. The cabinet dissolved the Central Council of the High Jirgah of Border Tribes & the Central Council of Hazara & Nomad Nationalities (as Parliament now represents them); changed the Ministry of Tribes & Nationalities to the Ministry of Border Affairs; & merged the Direct Cooperation Administration with the Commerce Ministry. (See p. 33.)

6/29 - NYT - A land mine blast killed 18 people in a bus yesterday in Jalalabad. Radio Kabul blamed the rebels.

6/30 - BIA - The Law on Nat'l Assembly (11 chapters, 82 items) was approved by Parliament.

- The ROA has informed UNGOMAP of 220 "gross violations of the Geneva accords by Pakistan...The Pakistani side acts... as if the Geneva accords were signed only on the withdrawal of the Soviet military contingent & as if the Pakistan side has no commitments or obligations..." - While in the ROA, Soviet soldiers built 28 schools, 28 houses, hospitals & 4 stores & installed 22kms of electric lines.

7/2 - BIA - Space photos are the cheapest way to plan for the exploitation of mineral, petroleum, gas & water resources, according to an official in the ROA Ministry of Mines & Industries. New geological maps (1:1m) & a mineralogical map (1:1/2m) will be printed soon.

- PT - Soviet Muslim organizations appealed to Zia ul-Haq to aid in releasing Soviet troops taken prisoner in the Afghan war.

- In Islamabad, members of the 7-Party Alliance met with ambassadors from Islamic countries to encourage them to recognize the interim Afghan gov't.

- The commander of Soviet forces in the ROA said 10 Soviets had been killed & 15 wounded in Afghanistan since 5/15/88. He said the Soviets were leaving no military hardware behind but that arms supplies would continue under the USSR's long-term agreements with Afghanistan (see 7/3).

7/3 - PT - Diego Cordovez said that there are ca. 2,000 minefields left in the ROA by the withdrawing Soviet troops. Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan estimated the mine count at 3-4,500, mostly underground & plastic so that metal detectors cannot locate them (see p.16). Cordovez said he didn't know where Prince Sadruddin got his figures.

- The Danish Parliament recently approved \$4m for Afghan refugee projects.

- BIA - Sheikh Ahmad Ziar, Grand Mufti of the Yemen Arab Republic, arrived in Kabul at the invitation of the Ministry of Islamic Affairs.

7/4 - HK Standard - Diego Cordovez arrived in Islamabad on 6/30 to discuss ROA accusations that Pakistan had violated the Geneva accords.

7/5 - PT - Maulvi Younis Khalis, leader of Hizb-i-Islami Afghanistan, survived a bombing raid in the Tura Bora area of the Khogiani District in Nangarhar.

- BIA - The ROA cabinet agreed to merge the Customs Dept. with the Finance Ministry & to allow the continuation of the Central Bank's activities under the Finance Ministry.

- Diego Cordovez arrived in Kabul. - The Nat'l Assembly approved the formation of a Ministry of Information & Culture to consist of the State Committees for Radio, TV & Film, Bakhtar Information Agency, culture, print & public relations (see 7/11).

7/5 - NYT - The USSR announced it would grant amnesty to any of its troops who deserted while serving in Afghanistan (see p.23 ).

- LA Times - Former Soviet prisoner Nikolai Ryzhkov (see FORUM XII,1,9-10), who received a 12-year prison sentence when he returned to the USSR in 1985 after 18 months in the US, was released from a Soviet prison last weekend.

- BIA - The Nat'l Assembly approved the annexation of the Dept. for Direct Co-operation between the USSR's Republics & the ROA Provinces to the Commerce Ministry.

7/6 - LA Times - A car bomb exploded near PDPA headquarters in Kabul, killing 6 & wounding 26.

- BIA - An explosion in the Murabkhani market in Kabul killed 6 & injured 13. "Bellicose extremists" were the perpetrators. Other explosions have occurred in Jalalabad, Maimana, Herat, Ghazni, Kandahar & Qalat.

7/7 - BIA - A protocol between the General Vehicle Transport Adm of Moscow & the Afghan Milli Bus Enterprise was signed.

7/8 - HK Standard - Soviet 1st Dep. For. Min. Yuli Vorontsov suggested that the USSR might be willing to exchange captured Afghans for Soviet prisoners.

- Gulbuddin told a press conference in Islamabad that the Kabul regime would fall within 7 months.

Mr Hekmatyar described Mr Cordovez's idea of convening a traditional assembly of tribal chiefs to help establish a new coalition government as "practically impossible, besides being obsolete".



■ Guibuddin Hekmatyar (left) at a press conference in Islamabad.

7/8 - BIA - Bombs planted by extremists near the Spinghar Cinema in Jalalabad blew up 31 people & injured 33 yesterday. - Diego Cordovez left for Islamabad.

- PT - Differences exist between the ROA & its Soviet military advisers over the Soviet's indiscriminate bombing of civilian areas in Afghanistan. Bombings have caused hundreds of people to flee the countryside, either to Kabul or to the mujahidin-held areas.

7/9 - BIA - Sultan Ali Keshtmand presided over a session of the Coordinating Council of the Alliance of Left-Wing Parties. Mahbobullah Kushani of the Revolutionary Org. of Working People of Afghanistan (ROWPA) was elected Council president for the next 4 months.

7/10 - LA Times - U.N. envoy Diego Cordovez called for a cease-fire in Afghanistan starting Sept. 1 and a caretaker administration to prepare for a *loya jirga*, or grand assembly, of tribal leaders that would decide on a new government in Kabul. Cordova proposed that the *loya jirga* be held March 1, 1989, and that a new government take over March 15, a month after the last Soviet troops are to leave. Cordovez negotiated the Geneva accords under which Soviet troops are withdrawing.

(See also pp. 10 & 20.)



Bashir Roigar

7/11 - Kabul Times - Ahmad Bashir Roigar is the new ROA Minister of Information & Culture. Born in 1946 in Kabul, he completed his education in journalism in 1971, served in the military & has since held various posts in the cultural field.

7/11 - PT - 14 of the Soviet soldiers taken prisoner in Afghanistan & reported missing are in the West. Of the total of 313 Soviet MIAs, a third have died & the rest are believed to be held by the mujahideen. Of the 14, 6 are in the US, 6 are in Canada (see p.23), 2 in Germany & 2 in Switzerland.

7/12 - PT - In Geneva, Diego Cordovez said that fighting in Afghanistan would probably escalate after mid-August when half of the Soviet troops are withdrawn. He said the fighting would be among the Afghans as the only remaining Soviets would be in Kabul.

- BIA - The ROA cabinet decided to merge the Ministry of Technical & Professional Studies with the Ministry of Higher Education. (See p. 35.)

AFP



7/12 - BIA - UNICEF will assist the ROA with drinking water supplies, mother & child care & vaccination programs.

7/13 - NYT - In Moscow, the US Ambassador & the Pakistani charge d'affaires were summoned to the Foreign Ministry to hear the charge that Pakistan's harboring of a rival Afghan gov't (set up by the Alliance last month) violated the Geneva agreements.

- PT - Pakistan & Saudi Arabia have agreed that a broad-based gov't in Afghanistan should be formed as quickly as possible.

- A bomb blast rocked the jam-packed Central Conference Hall in the Presidential Palace in Kabul on 7/6, apparently set off by a Khalqi brigadier. He escaped with 200 men & joined the mujahideen. A number of Soviets, ROA officials & youth group leaders were killed & wounded. Interior Minister Gulabzoi & Nat'l Security Minister Yaqobi were reportedly put into protective custody & an investigation has been ordered by the Red Army High Command (see pp. 19 & 28.)

7/14 - BIA - A Stinger missile was purchased by ROA security forces from the opposition.

7/16 - LA Times - Pakistan, under Soviet & UN pressure, has halted the flow of nearly all arms provided by the US for the mujahideen. The Reagan Adm. also urges Pakistan to cooperate with UNGOMAP. US officials said that the mujahideen are well-supplied with arms. Small arms & ammunition still get through but Stinger & heavy mortar shipments have stopped.

- PT - West Germany will give DM 200,000 to the Afghans for agricultural development & medical supplies.

- A delegation of mujahideen was formally invited to the Ka'aba Ghushl (annual cleaning of the House of Allah) by the Saudi Gov't.

7/17 - PT - Rajiv Gandhi, on a visit to Spain, said that "India's major worry in Afghanistan is an attempt to put in a fundamentalist gov't... We have no objection to a strong religious attitude but we would like to keep religion out of politics - especially in our region."

7/18 - Japan Times - Najibullah said that 165 rockets have struck Afghan cities since 5/15 & that his gov't was considering martial law as one way to counter guerrilla attacks.

7/18 - HK Standard - Cdr. Abdul Haq said ROA forces were firing at civilian areas to undermine support for the rebels. Mr Haq said, "We fire 5 rockets & suddenly we see 20 hit."

- BIA - Najibullah invited opponents of his regime to celebrate Eid ul-Adha in Kabul & other areas - if they come unarmed.

7/19 - PT - The WFP will deliver the 1st installment of food aid for Afghanistan. Valued at \$15.4m, the 80,000 tons of wheat & 3,000 tons of dried milk can be distributed to Afghans in Pakistan or used to support the refugees on their return home.

- BIA - "Armed clashes among the extremists which take place due to their intra-differences have gained momentum."

7/22 - BIA - Najibullah approved the proposal of the Council of Ministers to establish a new province of Nooristan, with 2 districts & 4 villages. The House of Representatives must approve the decision.

- HK Standard - ROA Foreign Min. Wakil wrote the UN Sec'y Gen'l asking the UN to intervene to check the increasing rocket attacks on Kabul. He accused Pakistan of violating the Geneva accords & the US of "criminal interference."

7/23 - BIA - Najibullah decreed the establishment of a political organization of the Solidarity Movement of the People of Afghanistan (FEDAYAAN).

- NYT - A Soviet official appealed to Iran to help Moscow resolve the Afghan situation.

7/24 - BIA - "A handful of cash as well as adequate material assistance were rendered today to those families which as a result of the rocket attacks of the extremists sustained life & material losses recently."

- LA Times - Zia ul-Haq accused the Soviets of stopping their troop withdrawal & of bringing 10,000 troops back into Kabul. Of the Cordovez peace plan (see p. 10), Zia said:

"Mr. Cordovez's plan is too good to be believed," Zia said. "Mr. Cordovez's plan is that on a given day, there will be a cease-fire, and on that day, Najibullah's government will fall. And on that day, 20

wise men will be brought in to Kabul by Mr. Cordovez and put on a throne. . . .

"In the first place, it is difficult to make the Afghans agree to a cease-fire," Zia declared, saying that the closest thing to the word *cease-fire* in the principal language of the Afghan resistance is a word translated as "a surrender of arms."

"If you tell an Afghan to surrender arms," he added, "the first thing he will do is have a go at you."

7/24 - NYT - A Soviet analyst, Maj. Gen. K.M. Tsagolov, in an article in the weekly Ogonyok, said the Afghan Army could not be relied upon to hold power after the Soviet withdrawal. He said the PDPA was preoccupied with infighting & that Islamic fundamentalism would sweep Afghanistan after the withdrawal. He added that the fundamentalists would probably be swept out by the demands of economic progress.

7/25 - NYT - US Defense Sec'y Carlucci & Dep. State Sec'y Whitehead accepted Soviet assurances that the withdrawal is moving as scheduled. Other Defense Dept. officials disagreed saying that the Soviets are not really withdrawing, just consolidating their forces around major cities. Some State Dept. officials say the withdrawal is not proceeding as rapidly as hoped.



OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB AWARDS BOOKLET

7/27 - BIA - The ROA has 6 legal political parties.

7/29 - BIA - The UN Socio-Economic Council approved assistance on 7/21 for the economic rehabilitation of Afghanistan & refugee return & resettlement.

7/30 - BIA - Iranian guards reportedly opened fire on some Afghan refugees in Zahidan, Iran, last week. The ROA is "investigating" the incident.

- A number of security posts have been established on "dominant points in the south of Kabul" to maintain security & prevent rocket attacks.

- "A group of foreigners" has illegally entered Afghanistan, with Gulbuddin's help, to extract "raw radioactive materials & transfer them to Pakistan."

- LA Times - A Norwegian nurse was killed in Laghman Province yesterday (see 7/31).

7/31 - SCMP - A Norwegian journalist & 12 mujahideen were killed in a mine explosion in Paktia. The journalist, Astrid Morken, had been working in Peshawar with the Norwegian Aid Committee.

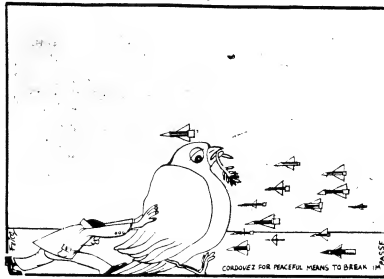
- NYT - The British Foreign Office advised all non-essential British citizens in Kabul to leave in view of the "deteriorating situation." (See 8/2)

8/1 - BIA - 6,407 Afghans performed the Haj this year.

8/2 - NYT - Foreign diplomatic missions in Kabul are bugging out. Eastern bloc embassies began removing all but minor-level diplomats in June; China, West Germany, Britain, France, Iran & Pakistan plan to make reductions by mid-August. The US has 10 diplomats & 10 marine guards at its embassy & plans no further reductions. - Several countries supplying officers to UNGOMAP have complained that the mission was running poorly due to lack of cooperation. Diego Cordovez, after visits to Afghanistan & Pakistan said now all parties have agreed to respect the accords more strictly.

The United Nations monitoring force has also been guaranteed complete freedom of movement to carry out its mission in territory controlled by the guerrillas, the departing Soviet forces

and the Kabul Government. "We have observers at the airports now where most of the Soviet forces leave from," Mr. Cordovez said. "And we can verify each garrison as the Russians give it up."



FRONTIER POST 7/7

8/2 - PT - Char Gul Tashar, a cdr. in Wardak, said in a press conference in Karachi that the mujahideen are preparing for a final assault on Kabul to annihilate the Soviet-backed regime & free Afghanistan from foreign influence. He said the mujahideen never depended on the arms supply to fight the Soviets - the jihad was fought on faith.

- BIA - The 1st issue of the monthly organ of the Islamic Party of the People of Afghanistan, "Al-Islam," came out recently in an edition of 5,000. Mawlawi Nasrullah Hanifi is the editor-in-chief.

- To improve the local breeds, 60,000 cattle are artificially inseminated annually in the ROA.

- About 70% of the buildings in Kandahar have been damaged or destroyed because of the war.

8/3 - BIA - Since 3/20 the Carpet Exporters Guild has shipped over 237,600 sq. meters of carpet, imported 580 tons of carpet yarn & 6.5 tons of dye, & provided 5 "new traditional patterns."

8/4 - BIA - Soviet Foreign Min. Shevardnadze arrived in Kabul for a working visit (see 8/6, 8).

- Soviet troops left Helmand & Kunduz yesterday.

8/6 - BIA - Shevardnadze met with ROA Interior Minister Gulabzoi, Armed Forces Chief Tanai, the governors of Herat & Nangarhar & the Force Cdrs. of Herat, Nangarhar & Paktia.

8/7 - BIA - Gazi Moh'd Wagar, an aide to Gulbuddin, has reportedly formed his own section of Hezb-i-Islami.

8/8 - BIA - From a Kabul interview with Shevardnadze: "The question is raised... of clearing the mine fields. Far from all mines were planted by us, more than enough of them by no means bear Soviet markings. Yet this makes things no easier to the peaceful Afghans returning to their abandoned homes. But the main roads by which the refugees are returning are safe; our field engineers have cleared them. The maps of areas where that has not been done yet have been turned over to the Afghan side. But we have irrefutable reports about the continuing planting of mines... done by those who are unhappy about peace in the Afghan land..." (See 8/14)

- When ROA Prime Minister Sharq visits Moscow, "a long-term program will be signed for economic, technical & trade cooperation" between the USSR & the ROA up to the year 2000.

- LA Times - Shevardnadze pledged his country's continuing support to the ROA & warned that Moscow was prepared to take "certain actions" in response to stepped-up rebel attacks. He reaffirmed Moscow's intention to withdraw half its troops by 8/15 & the rest by February.

8/9 - LA Times - Two Afghans in MIG-19s flew to Parachinar, Pakistan, & asked for asylum. - 500 Soviet troops left Kabul. Analysts say there are ca. 22,000 Soviet troops still based around Kabul.

- BIA - A special zone has been "established in 30-40kms of Kabul City," Najibullah said. "Several military detachments, including self-defense detachments, military detachments of PDPA members & special guards are prepared to crush the terrorists." He also said that the ROA armed forces have the power to defend not only Kabul, but all the provinces.

- Manchester (CT) Herald - Jack Anderson writes that the Soviets are lingering in Afghanistan to organize the Uzbeks, Tajiks & Turkmen into a Soviet-supported underground to counter any future Islamic state. They fear that fundamentalist influence might spread into their own Muslim republics.

8/10 - LA Times - Nearly 7,000 Soviet troops left Kandahar last week. Kandahar's pre-war population of 200,000 has dwindled to 20,000 in 10 years, according to Western estimates.

8/14 - NYT - A US study says 10-16m land mines are hidden in Afghanistan, posing danger to the returning refugees. The US wants an int'l effort to train & equip refugees to dismantle mines. A spokesman for Prince Sadrudin said that ca. 25,000 people have been killed or maimed by mines in Afghanistan. "This is the largest mine-clearing task the world has ever faced," said Andreas Kohlschütter, a spokesman for Prince Sadrudin, in Geneva. "It goes far beyond the problems after World War I or II. Afghanistan is truly a mine museum, with devices manufactured in Italy, Pakistan, China, the United States, the Soviet Union and other countries."

( See 8/13 & page 16.)

France, Britain, Norway, Italy, Turkey and New Zealand have expressed interest in the effort. Mr. Kohlschütter said. In the first phase of the program, he said, British and French experts will conduct "a large-scale intensive training course for refugees, including women and children, in refugee camps in Pakistan so they will know how to identify and avoid mines." The next step, he said, is to train adults in mine-clearing techniques. ~ ~ ~

8/15 - NYT - Mujahideen captured Kunduz shortly after Soviet troops withdrew. On 8/16, Western diplomats in Kabul said a 2,000-man Afghan Army unit had retaken Kunduz.

8/17 - NYT - The UN observation team in Afghanistan reported that the Soviets

have withdrawn from 10 bases - Baraki Barak, Daulatabad,

Faizabad, Gardez, Gazni, Jalalabad, Kandahar, Kunduz, Lashkar Gah & Ruhabad - & turned

them over to the Afghan Army. The 8 remaining bases are in Baghlan, Herat, Kabul, Parwan & Samangan.

- The US accused the USSR of rejecting the US appeal for help in removing the mines in Afghanistan. The US said Moscow had not given the UN maps of minefields & denied Soviet assertions that their mines self-destructed within a few days.

- LA Times - Mujahideen shot down an Afghan air force transport plane carrying troops to Kunduz. All 39 aboard were killed.

8/18 - LA Times - Mujahideen destroyed a major Soviet arms depot at Kalagay, ca. 100 miles north of Kabul, last week. Estimates of the number of people killed in the explosion ranged from 109 to 500. Tass claimed that the rebels had destroyed most of the buildings in Kunduz during the brief period they occupied the city.

- NYT - Pakistan's President Zia ul-Haq & US Ambassador to Pakistan Arnold Raphel were killed when their plane exploded near Bahawalpur in Pakistan.

8/19 - NYT - The USSR sent Pakistan condolences over Zia's death & hinted at a better relationship to come.

- Najibullah's younger brother was granted asylum in the US (see p. 25).

8/20 - The Economist comments on Zia:

Pakistani politics is tied to Afghanistan's turmoil. Zia sacked his prime minister, Mr. Mohammad Khan Junejo, in May partly because Mr. Junejo differed with him over Afghanistan. Mr. Junejo and many of his colleagues believed the president's support for Islamic fundamentalists among the resistance, and his insistence that the guer-

illas should push on to take big towns, would embroil Pakistan too deeply. They blamed the Afghan government for an explosion last April at an arms depot near Islamabad in which hundreds died.

Many Pakistanis suspect Afghanistan of being behind the explosion that took their president's life. If it was, the Afghan guer-

8/21 - NYT - At Zia ul-Haq's funeral yesterday, US State Sec'y Shultz praised Zia as a "steadfast champion of the Afghan cause."

Burhanuddin Rabbani told reporters he was "certain" that the Afghan intelligence service & the Afghan Gov't were responsible for Zia's death.

Strung across the road in front of the mosque where Zia's funeral took place was a sign:

"Dear Zia. Our hearts mourn and shed tears on your sad demise. Afghan Mujahideen."

8/22 - NYT - Pravda denied speculation that Afghanistan &/or the USSR had a hand in Zia's death. The paper said that Zia & the US were largely to blame; their support of the Afghan guerrillas had made Pakistan "a nest of terrorism."

8/26 - NYT - Bernard Weinraub reports from Kabul that the death of Zia ul-Haq has been welcomed as a turning point in the Afghan war. Foreign Ministry officials said that Zia alone was responsible for so much tragedy in Afghanistan. One official said, "Without Zia, there is hope for us."

8/27 - NYT - From Bernard Weinraub, still in Kabul:

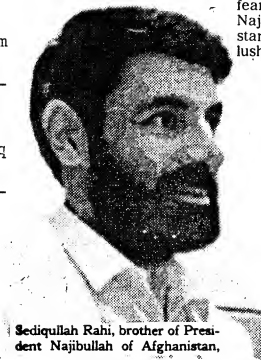
"... Everyone is nervous now," a Government official said. "We are fed up. We just want peace. Every Friday, we pray. Pray for peace."

Most Afghans, even Government officials, privately express delight that the Soviets are pulling out. But many fear that the Government of President Najibullah will prove too shaky to withstand the guerrilla insurgency in the lush mountains enveloping Kabul.

"The only way out of here is by air, and it won't take much to stop Indian Airlines from halting operations, and then everyone will be in a panic," a European diplomat said today.

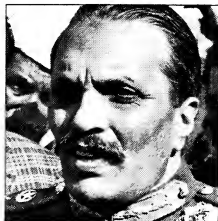


The New York Times Aug. 17, 1981  
Soviet troops have left the key cities of Jalalabad and Kandahar.



Sediquallah Rahi, brother of President Najibullah of Afghanistan,

The New York Times/Donatella Lorch



las will anxiously be watching Pakistan's new rulers. No Pakistani waved the banner of the Afghan resistance as vigorously as Zia did. Will caution make his successors furl it, or anger make them take it up?

{See also p. 36.}

# AFGHANISTAN FORUM



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#### ABBREVIATIONS USED

AICMB	- Afghan Information Center <u>Monthly Bulletin</u>
AWSJ	- <u>Asian Wall Street Journal</u>
BIA	- Bakhtar Information Agency
CC	- Central Committee
CSM	- <u>Christian Science Monitor</u>
DRA	- Democratic Republic of Afghanistan
DYOA	- Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan
FEER	- <u>Far Eastern Economic Review</u>
FRG	- Federal Republic of Germany
IHT	- <u>International Herald Tribune</u>
KT	- <u>Kabul Times</u>
NF	- National Front
NWFP	- Northwest Frontier Province
NYT	- <u>New York Times</u>
NYCT	- <u>New York City Tribune</u>
OIC	- Organization of Islamic Conference
PDPA	- People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PSFO	- Peace, Solidarity & Friendship Organization
PT	- <u>Pakistan Times</u>
ROA	- Republic of Afghanistan
RTV	- Refugee Tent Village
SCMP	- <u>South China Morning Post</u>
UNGA	- United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	- United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WDOA	- Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan
WSJ	- <u>Wall Street Journal</u>
UNGOMAP	- United Nations Good Offices Mission to Afghanistan & Pakistan

Line drawing from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar of the  
Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

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